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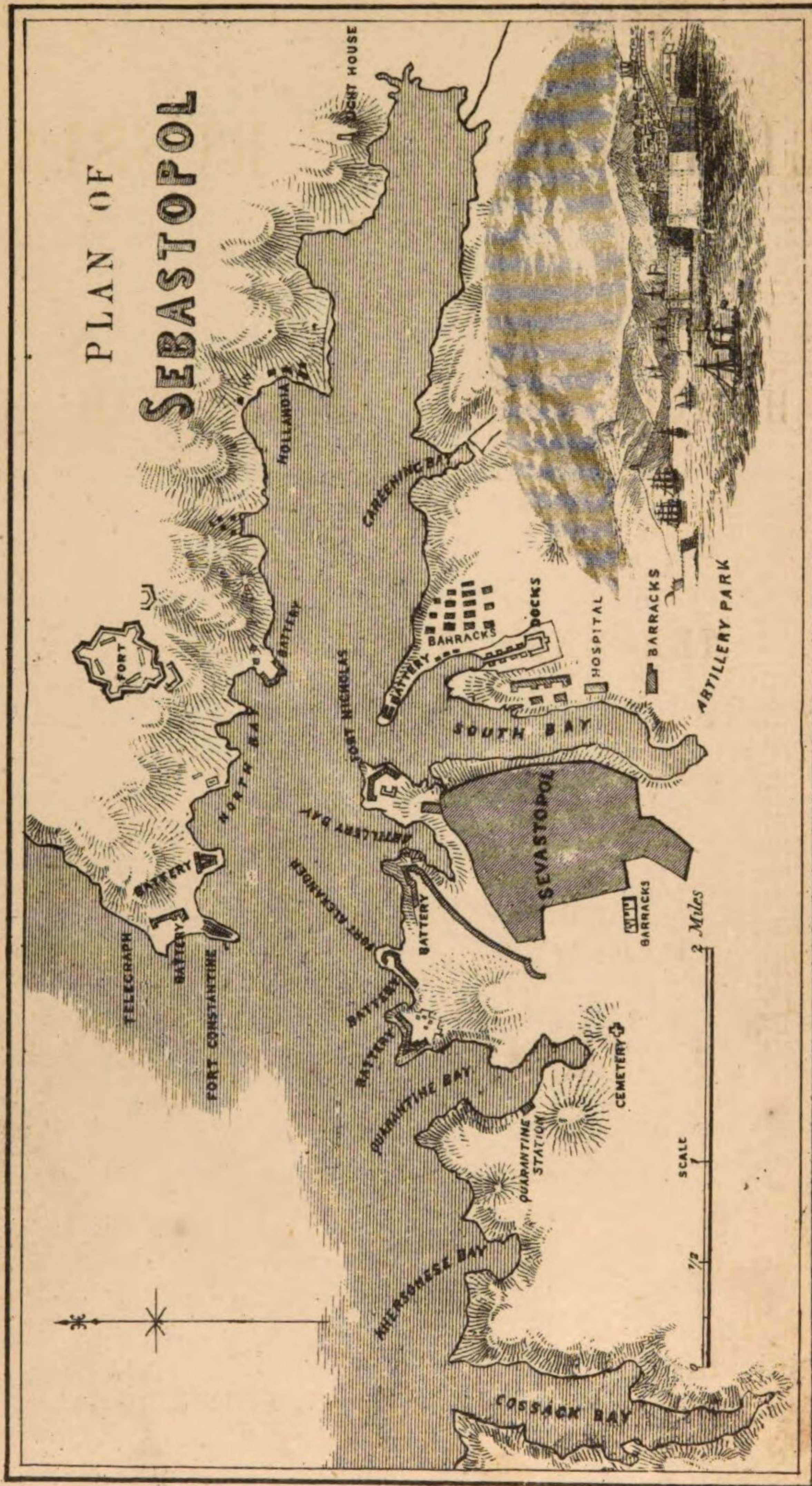
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PLAN OF SEBASTOPOL



THE
NEIGHBOURS OF RUSSIA,

AND

HISTORY OF THE PRESENT WAR

TO

THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL.

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

Most readers will probably think it superfluous to dwell on the ambitious character of the Russian nation, and of the Romanoff dynasty. Though masked by religion and disguised by diplomacy, political aggression has been the engrossing topic of the crown and people of Muscovy, subsequent and even previous to the accession of Peter the Great.

Various have been the heads that have worn the imperial crown, and the sceptre of all the Russias has passed from the hands of frantic madmen to those of dissolute women or polished hypocrites. Equally multifarious have been the instruments they have employed, and the courtiers who have influenced and counselled them. But a unity of design can be traced amidst this diversity of character. The aggrandizement and aggressions of Russia have been the primary motive of all their wars and diplomatic negotiations; and so far have their aspirations stretched, that there is scarcely a nation or a country that has not been sounded by Russian spies and explored by Russian agents. Hence it is evident that, in writing a sketch of the exoteric relations of Russia, we must embrace in our survey a large portion of the habitable globe.

As an illustration of the statements advanced in the preceding paragraphs, we shall introduce a few facts, resting on the authority of Sir John M'Neil. The acquisitions that Russia has made from Sweden amount to more than what remains of that ancient kingdom. What she has wrested from Turkey is equal to Prussia, exclusive of the Rhenish provinces; and the territory she has conquered from Persia is almost equal in extent to England. The regiment that is now stationed at her farthest frontier-post, on the western shore of the Caspian Sea, has as great a distance to march back to Moscow as

to Attock on the Indus. It is farther from St. Petersburg than from Lahore.

As regards the method of diplomatic aggression employed by Russia, we have an excellent specimen in the convention proposed by Russian plenipotentiaries, and accepted by the Turks at Akerman, on the express condition that Russia should renounce all interference in the affairs of Greece. To these conditions Russia acceded, only a few months after she had signed the Treaty of London, which bound her to interfere in those affairs, even by force of arms if necessary.¹

If the reader be desirous of obtaining evidence of the indirect influence and protection exercised by the Russian diplomacy and police over the cabinets and courts of Germany and Western Europe, he is referred to the secret and inedited documents translated by the author of these pages.² There he will discover that the monarchs or ministers of all the Great Powers are led and tutored by Russian embassies ; and the influence of Muscovy over the lesser States, especially of Germany, is sufficiently evident, if we examine the labyrinth of inter-marriages between the ducal and regal crowns of our neighbours and the Romanoffs.

This preamble will have sufficed to show the reader the importance of studying the Neighbours of Russia, and the indirect as well as the direct course of the war. And this importance will be enhanced when we consider that every past peace concluded by Muscovy has been systematically violated ; and that negotiations having been more fatal to her neighbours than war, the interest of this question will outlive the present struggle, and will be deeply compromised in the next treaty.

But there are other motives of weight to lead us to a narrow scrutiny of the neighbours of Russia. The world is fast falling into federations of races, and there is strong evidence in favour of the anticipation that the mastery of the world will soon be disputed between the Slavonic and the Gothic families. Possibly we ought to associate to this duality a third power in the Tartar races of Asia, including China and Turkey ; but it is evident that the main struggle will be between Muscovy and its dependencies, and the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations of the West. Hence the intense significance of the present crisis and its vast ramifications. Viewed in this light, the Eastern Question embraces the Old World and more.

Though it would exceed the limits of this sketch to do justice to

¹ Progress of Russia in the East, p. 95.

² Russia Self-condemned. Secret and Inedited Documents, translated from the French, D. Bogue.

such a vast theme, and though we shall confine ourselves to more moderate limits, we have said enough to justify a careful scrutiny and estimate of the neighbours of Russia, which has been one of the principal aims of this little volume.

Following a natural series in our mode of treating the subject, we shall first examine, somewhat in detail, the countries and nationalities directly implicated and interested in the present contest, after which we shall pass to those more remotely connected with the comprehensive and enduring plans of Russian and British encroachment. And this leads us to make a few remarks on the subject of conquest in general. It would be idle for an Englishman to disavow and condemn all conquests indiscriminately. Though the principle may be objectionable in theory, experience has indicated its utility in many cases; and few persons in the West would question the advantage to Russia of a conquest by its more civilized neighbours. Though injustice is always and inevitably involved in all human transactions, the conquest of India by Britain has been an ultimate advantage to that vast region, and similar results may occur in other cases. Hence it is not conquest, as such, which in the present state of the world is an untoward calamity, but it is the character of the conqueror and of the victim that pronounce it a blessing or a curse. Thus the conquest of Muscovy might be advantageous to Europe, and a blessing to itself, whereas the conquest of Turkey, or its partition by the despots of Christendom, would lead to its ruin and our own slavery, casting back the world for ages into the night of barbarism. In this, as in so many cases, utility is perhaps the criterion of duty, though it is unsafe to leave the verdict to human lust and selfishness. Happily, however, God is mightier than man, and invariably, in the long run, gives the might to the right. Hence, though Rome fell beneath the Barbarians, it wrought its own fall by its corruption, and as the penalty of its unjust aggressions; but as the Barbarian conquests were often accompanied by treachery and cruelty, and as Rome stood in advance of her neighbours in intelligence, the Northern hordes were gradually bent to the laws,¹ faith, and language² of their victims, who ultimately triumphed over their victors, and presented us with modern civilization. Thus, through a series of conflicts and vicissitudes, the hand of Providence always assigns eventually success to what is good and right.

This view of history may answer, in a way, to solve the problem of

¹ History of Roman Law, by Professor Savigny.

² Sir Francis Palgrave's History of the Normans. Dieffenbach über die Romanische Sprachen.

the future supremacy and mastery of the globe. If we are truly in advance of Russia, we are sure ultimately to lead her captive, otherwise she will triumph and we shall succumb, which would, in that case, be to the advantage of civilization. Let us be careful, therefore, to maintain the lead in all moral, intellectual, and physical excellence.

The author has already had occasion, in previous works,¹ to suggest what appears to be a safe and speedy method of bringing the war to a happy conclusion; and the details which are presented on the present occasion will answer the purpose of additional proofs of the view that he has previously advanced.

No person moderately familiar with the question can doubt that the destiny of Russia is in the hands of England. The German Powers may be justly regarded as beneath contempt, since the pusillanimous policy of Prussia in 1805,² and the suicidal sacrifice of Hungary by the Hapsburgs in 1849.³ If they are so lost to their own duty, dignity, and interest, as to violate all laws, human and divine, out of subserviency to the Czar, or from family motives, they may safely be left to the protection of Muscovy, which will be an ample reward for their many virtues.

To satisfy the reader that we have not been guilty of exaggeration in saying that Russia is at the mercy of England and France, we will adduce a few arguments that appear to us to be conclusive.

First, we have previously observed,⁴ that if men of energy and integrity managed our affairs, we should have an auxiliary force in Circassia, and Schamyl could trust in an honest, manly, and spirited support. The Allies would speedily sweep the Russians from the Caucasian Isthmus, take the Crimea in flank and rear, reduce Sebastopol and Odessa, and cut off the Russian army in Moldavia.

Secondly, if we made use of the terrible elements of disaffection now existing in Russia, the Czar's rule would soon cease. The best Russian authorities assure us that the Ruthenians, or Malo-Russians, are burning to shake off the yoke, and that the numerous Duchoborzi, and Staroveritze, forming sects of heretics throughout the Empire, are not over-friendly with a government which has shown them the charity and veracity of Spanish Inquisitors. A large portion of the Russian officers are Liberals in disguise, ready to revolt;⁵ Siberia is an

¹ Russia and England: their Strength and Weakness.

² Alison's History of Europe.

³ Schlesinger's War in Hungary.

⁴ Russia and England: their Strength and Weakness.

⁵ Russia and its People. By Count de Gurowski, p. 111.

atmosphere of Democracy and Socialism,¹ and Poland is a smothered volcano. Here are elements of success; but Prussian Ministers and the Austrian Government will ignore them, because they prefer imperial anarchy and constitutional tyranny to the emancipation and welfare of Europe.

Another and a sufficient argument to prove the desperate position of Russia, may be found in the siege of Silistria, and the heroism of the Ottoman armies. Turkey alone, if she had not been impeded by Western diplomacy, would have signally defeated Russia long ere this. The position of the Russian army in Turkey in 1829 was desperate, at a time of the greatest prostration of the Porte.² A Russian force would never have crossed the Pruth if we had not deterred the Turks from opposing it; and an equal Turkish force would have met the Russian fleet and destroyed it at Sinope, if we had not interfered with their movements with our diplomacy.

A fifth argument is the fact, that we could ruin Russia, through her trade, within a given time, if we had not bound ourselves to spare, and even aid her, by absurd commercial regulations in a time of war, by the continuance of the Russo-Dutch loan, against common sense and justice, which amounts to robbing England in order to support Russia in destroying us, and by sparing our foe in a way that would be considered tender in a friend.

Lastly, and above all, England and France could destroy Russia to-morrow, by encouraging democracy and the insurrection of oppressed nations throughout the Continent. If Hungary were set free, and Kossuth restored, not a Russian soldier would repass the Pruth. But the Germans prefer to negotiate at Vienna, and to trifle away the honour and freedom of nations over card-tables in Berlin drawing-rooms. If Poland were encouraged, Petersburg, Finland, and the Baltic coast would fall into our power, and the serpent would be deprived of its sting.³ Hungary and Poland united would soon bring the German princes to their senses, as they have done many times before; and united with Turkey, they could dictate any terms to Russia.

The power of Russia lies not in her arms, but in her diplomacy; and so soon as Democracy reigns triumphant on the Continent, and the despots tremble on their thrones, the strength of Russia departs.

¹ The Nations of Russia and Turkey. By J. Golovin.

General Valentini's History of the War of 1828-29.—Captain Slade's Records of Travel in Turkey.—Urquhart's Progress of Russia.

³ Kossuth's Sheffield and Nottingham Speeches.—Golovin's Nations of Russia and Turkey.

Threaten Prussia in her Rhenish provinces, Austria in Italy and Hungary, and they cannot stir; or, if they dare to oppose you, they will be gathered to the past.

Such is our game; but governments that are based on fictions or fallacies instead of principles, can seldom venture on bold or safe measures, and generally make great mistakes. Napoleon the Great committed the fatal error of truckling to Austria, and he fell.

It must be evident to all who call things by their right names, that the petty German Cabinets are determined not to suffer Nicholas, the great supporter of order, to be crushed, and that they will take the first opportunity of plotting a disgraceful and disastrous peace.

Having prepared the reader for a correct appreciation of the war, by topographical illustrations of the countries implicated in the contest, we shall attempt, in the last Part, a compendium of the events that have marked the progress of the struggle up to the present hour. By these means we hope to assist the reader in arriving at a correct judgment of the scope and breadth of the Eastern Question, and of the position and prospects of the belligerent Powers.

THE NEIGHBOURS OF RUSSIA,

AND

THE PRESENT WAR.

PART I.

THE SCENE OF WAR IN EUROPEAN TURKEY.

CHAPTER I.

MOLDAVIA.

THE ground forming the immediate scene of the contest in the East constitutes a very extended line. It stretches from the 38th to the 65th degree of longitude east, so that it embraces a length of 1200 miles, throughout all parts of which the conflict has commenced, and is now raging with more or less intensity.

It cannot be disputed that the most important points of this line are, first, on the Lower Danube, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia; and, secondly, the territory of the Caucasus, together with the Crimea. Between these two regions, of which the first forms the western and the second the eastern end of the line, is the Black Sea, which by some writers is thought of secondary importance, whilst others pronounce it the most commanding position in the war. We shall here simply observe, that the occupation of the Black Sea by the Allied fleets, threatens the flank of the Russians on the Danube, secures that of the Turks and Constantinople, cuts off the Russians in Georgia, and takes the Crimea in the rear with a land force, whenever we choose to make use of the Circassians.¹ In other words, with a zealous and patriotic ministry at home, and gallant and able admirals and generals abroad, the command of the Black Sea would give us the key to success in the war.

In order to enable the reader to arrive at a clear conception of the present war in Turkey, we shall divide our description of the theatre

¹ Russia and England.

where it is being enacted, into two parts: First, the European scene of war; second, the Black Sea and the Caucasus.

That part of the Turkish possessions in Europe which forms its frontier to the north, on the side of Russia, is styled Moldavia, which has been stripped of considerable territories in former wars. The Turkish possessions used once to encircle the Black Sea, embracing Bessarabia and the Crimea, which were gradually wrested from the Porte by the arms, and especially the intrigues, of Russia. Every Russian invasion into European Turkey is forced to pass through Moldavia, which some Austrian strategists profess to consider an indefensible outwork of Turkey, whilst other well-informed British authorities maintain that, if in the spring of 1853 the line of the Pruth had been occupied by the Turks when they were kept back by British diplomacy, there would have been no war.

Moldavia consists of a narrow level territory running longitudinally north and south, its western limits reaching Transylvania and Bukowina, from which it is separated by the Carpathian mountains. Its northern and eastern border, on the side of Bessarabia, is formed by the Pruth; and lastly, on its southern frontier, where it touches the other parts of the Turkish Empire, the line of separation is marked out partly by some branch-chains of the Carpathians, partly by a small stream called the Milkow, by the Sereth, which flows into the Danube near Galatz, and by the Danube itself for a short distance, between Galatz and Reni. The Sereth, which, after the Danube and the Pruth, is the most important river in the Principality, arises in the Bukowina (a part of Austria), and flows almost throughout Moldavia, from north to south.

The Austrian strategists add that this region offers no natural bulwark against the attacks of an enemy, for the Pruth, which is the border river, is not sufficiently important to present serious obstacles to the entrance of a disciplined and experienced enemy.

These writers proceed to advance another circumstance, which they represent as sufficient to render Moldavia untenable by Turkey in a defensive war,—namely, that Moldavia is only connected with the remainder of Turkey for a space of forty miles between Fokshany and Galatz; so that, in time of war, a Turkish army operating in Moldavia would be easily cut off from Wallachia at Reni.

Hence if Turkey aimed at carrying the war over into Moldavia, it could only do this with safety by occupying and gaining a footing in Bessarabia, in order to secure its rear on the Danube, the Carpathians, and the shores of the Black Sea, as far as Akerman on the Dniester.

According to this view of the case, the southern border of Moldavia forms the first defensible line of Turkey against its northern neighbours. The second would be formed by the Danube, which separates Bulgaria from Wallachia.

Such is the view of the Austrian strategists.¹ But in their hypothesis, they forget two things: first, that if detained in the steppes of Bessarabia, a Russian army would starve, owing to the inefficiency and villany of their commissariat; second, that a diversion might

¹ Russisch. Türkische Kriegs Schauplatz, topographisch strategisch beleuchtet. Wien, 1854.

be made from Hungary, in which case the Russian army on the Pruth would be taken in flank. Now, though we may doubt the neutrality of the Austrian Government, it is evident that with a liberal administration in Hungary, the Russians would not dare to cross the Pruth.

But setting aside these arguments, there is no reason why the Turks should not have invaded Bessarabia, which formerly belonged to them; and judging from the success that has hitherto invariably attended their arms, there is every reason to believe that they would have driven the Russians out of it, if we had not held them down in the spring of 1853. This region has already witnessed the triumphs of Turkish arms, and the imminent danger and disgrace of Russia's greatest Czar; and as the history is an excellent illustration of the question in dispute, and of the influence of Russian gold, we shall give it as related by an eminent French historian.

The dull perceptions of Europe are at length becoming alive to the fact, that the struggle between Peter the Great and Charles XII. was a chronic conflict, which has endured up to this day. Experience has proved that the Swedish madman was a great clairvoyant, and that the shipwright of Deptford, whom venal pens have vied in celebrating as a demi-god, was the incarnation of the materialism of the north-eastern Barbarians—the eternal foes of light and liberty throughout the world.

Charles, with admirable instinct, perceived that the safety of his country and the West was dependent on the humiliation of Peter; and after his rash impatience had robbed him of the fruit of many earlier victories, and he fled a suppliant from Poltava, over the Turkish border, perceiving with unerring penetration that the cause of Sweden and Turkey was *one*, he never rested till he induced the Porte to resist the insidious encroachments of Muscovy.

A powerful Turkish army was sent to co-operate with the Khan of the Crimea, in driving back the Muscovites from the memorable frontiers of Moldavia. But, unfortunately, Baltagi-Mehemet, the Turkish Grand Vizier, was a man of discretion rather than valour.

In giving an account of the momentous campaign on the Pruth, we shall adopt the version of an eminent French writer:—¹

“The Czar Peter ought evidently to have conquered Baltagi-Mehemet,” observes this philosopher, who is more remarkable for brilliant passages than solid reasoning or substantial facts. “But,” continues our author, “the Russian monarch was guilty of the same error in dealing with the Turks as that committed by Charles XII. in connection with himself. He despised his enemy too much. He left Moscow on receiving intelligence of the arming of the Turks; and having given orders that the siege of Riga should be converted into a blockade, he collected 80,000 of his troops on the frontiers of Poland. He started at the head of this army, marching through Moldavia and Wallachia, formerly constituting ancient Dacia, and now peopled by Greek Christians tributary to the Sultan. Here we must pause a moment to point out the loose language often employed by historians in speaking of races. From the epithet Greek Christians, applied to

¹ Voltaire's Charles XII., p. 152.

the Roumani by Voltaire, many would suppose that people descended from the Hellenes. Yet they are the offspring of ancient Dacians and Roman colonists ; their language is a rustic Latin, and the only thing Greek about them is their religion.

“Moldavia,” continues Voltaire, “was then governed by Prince Cantemir, a Greek by birth, who united the talents of the ancient Greeks with the love of literature and taste for arms. It is reported that he was a descendant of the famous Timur, known by the name of Tamerlane. This origin appeared more distinguished than a common Greek genealogy ; and his adherents attempted to prove his descent on etymological grounds. Timur, they said, resembles Temir ; the title of Khan, which was held by Tamerlane before he conquered Asia, recurs in the name of Cantemir ; hence Prince Cantemir is the descendant of Tamerlane. Such,” says the witty French marquis, “is the foundation of most genealogies.”

Whatever might be the origin of Cantemir, he owed his whole fortune to the Ottoman Porte. Scarcely had he received the investiture of his principality, before he betrayed his benefactor the Sultan, in favour of the Czar, from whom he anticipated more advantages. He fancied that the conqueror of Charles XII. would easily overcome a vizier of little ability, who had never carried on war, and who had chosen as his *chiaja*, *i. e.*, his lieutenant, the President of the Board of Customs in Turkey. He reckoned on all his people siding with him, and the Greek patriarchs as usual encouraged him in his treachery.

Accordingly, the Czar, after having made a secret agreement with this prince, and having received him in his army, advanced into the country, and arrived in the month of June 1711, on the northern bank of the river Hierasis, now called the Pruth, near Yassy, the capital of Moldavia.

Immediately that the Grand Vizier heard that Peter Alexiowitz was marching in his direction, he raised his camp, and following the course of the Danube, crossed that river by a bridge of boats, exactly at the spot where Darius had formerly erected a bridge that bore his name, near a town called Saccia. The Turkish army made such speed, that it soon appeared in presence of the Muscovites, being only separated from them by the Pruth.

The Czar, feeling perfect reliance on the Moldavian Prince, did not anticipate that the Moldavians would hang back ; but princes and their subjects have very frequently quite opposite interests. The latter maxim of Voltaire is well illustrated by the present interesting position of Prussia. “The Moldavians *liked the Turkish rule*, which is *never fatal to any class but the great*, and which assumes great mildness in its treatment of tributary provinces ; they feared the *Christians*, and especially the Muscovites, who had always treated them most inhumanly ; hence they carried all their provisions to the Ottoman army. The very purveyors who had engaged to furnish the Muscovite army with supplies, contributed the exact amount agreed to be provided to the Russians, to the Grand Vizier. The Wallachians, who are neighbours of the Moldavians, showed the same affection to the Turks ; so greatly had these nations been disgusted with their experience of the Russians.

The Czar being thus deceived in his hopes, which were probably too easily excited, saw his army suddenly deprived of all supplies and all forage. The Russian soldiers deserted in bands, and his army was soon reduced to less than 30,000 men, who were perishing with misery and want. Peter was experiencing the same evils on the Pruth, from a foolish reliance on Cantemir, that Charles had endured at Poltava by trusting too much in Mazeppa. Meanwhile the Turks crossed the river, enclosed the Russians, and threw up an intrenched camp in front of them. It is surprising that the Czar did not dispute the passage over the river, or at least that he did not atone for this fault by attacking the Turks immediately after the passage, instead of suffering them quietly to blockade and starve him at their leisure. It appears that in this campaign, this prince did everything in his power to cause his own defeat, and now he was cut off, without provisions, with 150,000 Turks in front of him, and 50,000 Tartars, who were incessantly harassing him in flank and rear. In this emergency he remarked publicly: "Here I am, at any rate, in as bad a position as that of my brother Charles at Poltava."

Count Powniatowski, the indefatigable agent of the King of Sweden, was in the army of the Grand Vizier with some Poles and Swedes, who considered the ruin of the Czar to be inevitable.

As soon as Powniatowski saw that the collision of the two armies was unavoidable, he informed the King of Sweden, who started forthwith from Bender, followed by forty officers, anticipating the pleasure of fighting once more against the Muscovite Emperor. After many losses and ruinous marches, the Czar, pushed back towards the Pruth, had no other defences than some chevaux-de-frise and waggons; some detachments of janissaries and spahis fell upon his army thus imperfectly protected; but they attacked in disorder, and the Muscovites defended themselves with a degree of energy inspired by the presence of the Czar and their own despair.

The Turks were twice repulsed. The next day, M. Powniatowski recommended the Grand Vizier to starve the Muscovite army, which, being deficient in everything, would be obliged in a day to surrender at discretion, with the Emperor.

The Czar has since confessed, on several occasions, that he had never suffered so deeply in all his life as that night; he recalled in his mind all that he had done for so many years to promote the glory and happiness of his nation. So many great works, which had been so often interrupted by wars, were perhaps about to perish with him before their completion. It was evident that they must die of hunger, or attack nearly 180,000 men, with exhausted troops, diminished by one half, a cavalry almost entirely dismounted, and infantry attenuated by hunger and fatigue.

Towards the beginning of the night, Peter called General Czeremetoff, and ordered him, without hesitation or taking farther counsel, to hold all in readiness to attack the Turks at daybreak at the point of the bayonet.

He also is said to have given express orders that all the luggage should be burnt, and that each officer should retain only one waggon, in order that in the event of their being defeated, the enemy should not at any rate enjoy the plunder which they anticipated.

After having arranged everything for action with the general, he retired to his tent, overwhelmed with grief, and agitated with convulsions, to which he was subject, and which were always aggravated when he suffered any great anxiety. He forbade any one to enter his tent that night, under any pretence whatever, being resolved not to listen to any remonstrances which might be made against a desperate, but necessary resolution. He, moreover, did not wish to have any witnesses of the dejection of his heart.

Meanwhile, according to his orders, the greater portion of the baggage was burnt. The whole army followed this example, though with regret: many men buried their valuables. The general officers were in the act of issuing orders to advance, and were endeavouring to inspire the army with a confidence which they did not experience themselves; the privates, exhausted with fatigue and hunger, were marching listless and hopeless. The women, who encumbered the army, emitted cries and lamentations that tended to increase the depression of the men: they all expected death or slavery on the morrow. This is no exaggeration, but simply in accordance with statements that have been frequently made by officers who served in that army.

There was at that time in the Muscovite camp, a woman, of perhaps as singular a character as the Czar himself; she was at that period known only by the name of Catherine. Her mother was a poor peasant of the name of Erb-Magden, a native of the village of Ringen, in Esthonia, a province whose inhabitants are serfs,¹ and which was at that time under the rule of Sweden; she never knew her father, and she was baptized by the name of Martha. The vicar of the parish brought her up from motives of charity till the age of fourteen, when she became a servant at Marienburg, in the house of a Lutheran minister, named Gluk.

In 1702, at the age of eighteen, she married a Swedish dragoon. The day after her wedding, the Swedish troops having been beaten by the Muscovites, this dragoon, who had been in the action, disappeared, and his wife was never able to discover whether he had been taken prisoner, or anything else concerning him.

Some days after, being herself made a prisoner by General Bauer, she served as a domestic in his house, and afterwards in that of Marshal Czeremetoff. She was subsequently handed over to Mentschikoff, a man who had known the extremest vicissitudes of fortune, having been a pastry-cook's boy, a general, and a prince, and who was afterwards stripped of all his dignities and sent to Siberia, where he died of misery and despair.

It was at a supper given by Prince Mentschikoff that the Emperor saw and became enamoured of Catherine. He married her secretly in 1707, without having been led captive by any female arts on her part, and simply because he detected in her nature a strength of character well adapted to second his enterprises, and to carry them out after his decease. He had previously repudiated his first wife Ottokefa, the daughter of a boyard, who was accused of opposing the changes that he was introducing in his dominions. This was a very great crime in the eyes of the Czar, who would only tolerate those in his family who

¹ No longer now, through a system of emancipation introduced by Alexander.

thought as he did. Peter recognised in this foreign slave the qualities of a sovereign, although she possessed none of the virtues of her sex; consequently he overlooked, in her case, prejudices that would have deterred any ordinary man. She was crowned Empress; and the same genius which raised her to be the wife of Peter Alexiowitz gave her the Empire after his death. Europe was astonished to see this woman, who never knew how to read or write, redeem her deficient education and her weaknesses by her courage, and fill with glory the throne of a legislator.

When she married the Czar, Catherine renounced the Lutheran religion, in which she had been educated, and became a member of the Russo-Greek Church. She was re-baptized, according to the customs of the Russian ritual, and she exchanged the appellation of Martha for that of Catherine, by which she has been generally known. This woman being in the camp on the Pruth, held a council with the general officers and the Vice-Chancellor Schaffirof, whilst the Czar was in his tent.

It was resolved that the Turks must be sued for peace, and that the Czar must be induced to submit to this step. The Vice-Chancellor wrote a letter to the Grand Vizier in the name of his master; the Czarina entered the Emperor's tent, although the latter had prohibited all interruption, and having prevailed on him to sign the letter after many entreaties, disputes, and tears, she immediately collected all her jewels, money, and everything valuable—she even borrowed from the general officers—and having thus collected a considerable present, she sent it to Osman-Aga, Lieutenant of the Grand Vizier, with the letter signed by the Muscovite Emperor.

Mehemet Baltagi, assuming at first the haughtiness of a Vizier and a conqueror, replied: "Let the Emperor send me his Prime Minister, and I shall see what I have to do." The Vice-Chancellor Schaffirof, on receiving this intelligence, proceeded immediately to the Ottoman camp, laden with some presents, which he offered publicly to the Grand Vizier, and which were of sufficient importance to show that he was necessary to them, but not large enough to corrupt him.

The first demand of the Vizier was, that the Czar, with his whole army, should surrender at discretion. The Vice-Chancellor replied that his master was going to attack him in the course of a quarter of an hour, and that the Muscovites would prefer to fall to the last man rather than submit to such humiliating conditions. Osman added his remonstrances to the words of Schaffirof.

Mehemet Baltagi *was no soldier*; he had seen that the janissaries had been repulsed the night before, and Osman easily persuaded him not to give up certain advantages for the risks of a battle. He accordingly agreed to a truce for six hours, during which the conditions of the treaty were canvassed and settled.

Whilst they were discussing, a little incident occurred, which showed that the Turks are often more jealous of their word than we imagine. Two Italian gentlemen, relations of M. Brillo, a lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of grenadiers in the service of the Czar, having wandered in search of forage, were taken by some Tartars, who brought them to the camp, and offered to sell them to an officer of the janissaries.

The Turkish commander, indignant at his men daring to violate

the truce, caused the Tartars to be arrested, and led them himself before the Grand Vizier, in company with the two prisoners. The Vizier sent back the two gentlemen to the Czar's camp, and caused the heads of those Tartars, who had shared in the capture of the Italians, to be cut off." Before we proceed with the narrative, we would pause to compare this instance of Turkish integrity with the duplicity and perfidy of Russian officials at all times and in all places; yet the former are Mussulmans and the latter Christians. When will the world judge of things by their nature instead of their names?

Meanwhile the Khan of the Tartars was justly and wisely opposed to the conclusion of a treaty which deprived him of all hope of plunder. Powniatowski seconded the Khan with very pressing reasons, but Osman prevailed over the Tartar's impatience, and triumphed over the insinuations of Powniatowski.

The Vizier thought that he had done quite enough for the Grand Seignior, his master, by concluding an advantageous peace. He required the Muscovites to surrender Azof, that they should burn the galleys which were in their ports, that they should demolish the important forts built upon the coast of the Sea of Azof, and that all the cannon and ammunition of these forts should remain in the hands of the Grand Seignior; that the Czar should withdraw his troops from Poland, that he should no longer harass the small number of Cossacks who were under the protection of Poland, nor those which were dependent on Turkey, and that henceforth he should pay the Tartars a subsidy of 40,000 sequins yearly; "an odious tribute," adds the French philosopher, "which had been imposed for a long time, but from which the Czar had freed his country." We would only suggest, *en passant*, the restoration of this tribute as a guarantee of the peace of the world. Surely it is juster and less odious than Muscovite protection.

"In short," proceeds Voltaire, "the treaty was about to be signed without even any mention of the King of Sweden. All that Powniatowski could obtain from the Vizier was, that an article should be inserted by which the Muscovite should engage not to impede the return of Charles; and singularly enough, it was stipulated in this article that the Czar and the King of Sweden should make peace if they wished it, and could agree. On these conditions the Czar was at liberty to retire with his army, his cannon, his artillery, his standards, and his luggage. The Turks furnished them with provisions, and there was general abundance in the Russian camp two hours after the signing of the treaty, which was negociated July 21, 1711, and concluded on the 1st of August.

"At the very time that the Czar, who had just escaped this dilemma, was retiring, with drums beating and standards floating, the King of Sweden came up, impatient to fight, and see his enemy in his power. He had hastened more than fifty leagues on horseback from Bender to Yassy, and he arrived just at the time when the Russians were making a peaceful retreat. In order to penetrate into the Turkish camp, it was necessary to pass the Pruth by a bridge three leagues off. Charles, who did nothing like other men, swam across the river at the risk of drowning, and passed through the Russian camp at the risk of being taken. He reached the Ottoman camp, and entered the tent

of Powniatowski, who related this story to me, and also wrote it himself. The Count advanced sorrowfully towards him, and informed him that he had just lost an opportunity which might perhaps never occur again.

“The King, in a towering tempest of passion, went straight to the Vizier’s tent, and reproached him, with a face inflamed with rage, for having concluded the treaty. ‘I have the right,’ replied the Grand Vizier, with a calm air, ‘to make peace or war.’ ‘But,’ resumed the King, ‘was not the whole Muscovite army in thy power?’ ‘Our law directs us,’ rejoined the Vizier, ‘to give peace to our enemies when they sue for mercy.’ ‘Pshaw!’ interrupted the King, ‘does thy law order thee to conclude a bad treaty when thou canst dictate any terms that seem good to thee? Did it not rest with thee to take back the Czar as thy prisoner to Constantinople?’

“The Turk, hard pressed, replied drily: ‘And who would govern his empire in his absence? It would not do for all kings to be absentees?’ Charles smiled contemptuously in reply, cast himself on a sofa, looking at the Vizier with anger and contempt, and, stretching out his leg, he caught his spur on purpose in the robe of the Turk, rent it, arose immediately, leaped on his horse, and returned to Bender with despair in his heart.

“Powniatowski remained some time longer with the Grand Vizier to try by gentle means to induce him to take more advantage of the Czar. But the hour of prayer was come; the Turk, without replying a single word, went away to perform his ablutions and to pray to God.”¹

We have just related, in the words of Voltaire, one of the great mistakes of history. Endless calamities and secular oppression might have been prevented by Baltagi. Charles saw his fatal mistake, if not treachery, and his wrath is very excusable.

As regards the plea of mercy extended to enemies, it is doubtless noble, and might be instructive to many Christians. But a bitter experience has now taught us that any terms granted to Russia and her train of dependent princes is neither wisdom nor virtue. The gibbet is their reward for magnanimity, treachery their exchange for integrity, slavery their gratitude for those who showed mercy upon them. It is devoutly to be hoped that the victims of despotism, whenever their day of liberation shall sound, will see the duty as well as expediency of tempering mercy with firmness, and justice with severity. This alliance alone can secure the future triumph of the cause of freedom.

A British traveller, who visited Moldavia some years ago, remarks that its aspect is very singular, and possibly unique. There are two other districts of Europe which probably once resembled it greatly, but the progress of civilization and agriculture, during the course of a few centuries, has altered them, whilst Moldavia remains unchanged. It is intersected with marshes and small lakes in a degree curious beyond all description. Mecklenburg Strelitz, and La Vendee in France, were formerly in the same state. Most of the rivers in Moldavia are still intersected with weirs, which dam the waters and form ponds; mills are erected on these weirs, and the villages are congregated around them.

¹ Voltaire’s *Histoire de Charles XII.*, p. 160.

The face of the country consists of immense undulating plains called steppes, of great beauty and immense extent, covered with the most luxuriant crops of grass, affording pasture to herds and flocks of horses, horned cattle, and sheep. Their monotonous aspect is only interrupted from time to time by the small circular lakes previously mentioned, and sometimes villages of the most primitive character, surrounded by wattle fences, straggling at wide intervals along the grassy brows of the hills—no trees—a few thickets,—no hedges, landmarks, or divisions of territory; occasionally some fields of maize—hares, coveys of partridges, and other game, hopping tamely by the side of the road,—the roads themselves almost without a pebble, and so smooth, that the wheels of the carriage glide along noiselessly like a sledge over virgin snow. The Moldavian peasants, who are encountered at intervals driving bullock-wains of the most primitive form and construction, are a rough, hardy, and simple race, clad in white woollen or linen garments, sheep-skin caps, and sandals,—according with every surrounding object to create the idea of pastoral life in the very infancy of society, when all sentiments and images were simple, peaceful, and innocent. A few of the great historical landscapes of Rubens, engraved by Bolowert, might give a more correct notion of the general aspect of Moldavia, than any other representations that occur.¹

A British resident² and consul in the Danubian Principalities, about thirty years ago, gave Moldavia a population of 500,000 souls. It is now estimated at above one million.

Yassy, the capital of Moldavia, though smaller, is better built than Bucharest, containing many elegant houses built in the most modern style of European architecture, 40,000 inhabitants, and seventy churches. One part of it stands upon a fine hill, and the other is situated in a valley. The prince's palace is the most extensive edifice in the whole town, and is surrounded by gardens and yards. It is furnished in a style which is half Oriental and half European, and has room to lodge conveniently more than a thousand people. Both Yassy and Bucharest occupy a great extent of ground, the houses being separate from each other, and surrounded by yards or gardens and trees. All the structures are of brick, and the walls, outside as well as within, are plastered and whitewashed. Tiles are rarely employed, and the roofs are commonly covered with wood.

The streets of the two capitals, and indeed of all the provincial towns, are invariably paved with thick logs of timber, thrown across, and closed up together. In some cases, the surface is made smooth and even, whereas in others the logs are almost left rough and in the natural state. In wet weather, they are constantly covered over with a deep liquid mud, and in summer with a dense stratum of black dust, which, being raised by the slightest wind, becomes extremely injurious to the eyes and lungs. Besides these drawbacks, a complete removal of the pavement is requisite every six years.

Another British traveller informs us that the situation of Yassy is very fine. It lies on the southern slope of a low hill, near the marshy banks of a small river, named the Baglui, which joins the Pruth a

¹ Neale's Travels in Germany, Poland, Turkey, &c.

² Wilkinson's Wallachia and Moldavia.

few leagues lower down. The city of Yassy stretches for a short mile along both banks of the stream, over which there is a wooden bridge. To the south of the city, there towers aloft a superb chain of mountains, of almost Alpine height, decorated to the very summit with woods of splendid growth: along the heights, in numerous places, they detected patches of snow, still unmelted in the month of August. A number of inscriptions, coins, and medals, frequently dug up on the spot, prove that Yassy stands on the site of a Roman city called *Jassiorum Municipium*. The population consists of Greeks, Albanians, Russians, Jews, and principally native Moldavians or Roumani. The houses are built of brick, wood, and mud; those of the poor are thatched with bog-reeds, but those of the rich are covered with shingles, as in Poland. The streets are also described by this traveller as unpaved, or rather paved with massive beams of wood, resting at each end on *sleepers*; the latter are elastic, and when horses and carriages pass, yield a low rumbling noise, like that of a drawbridge, while the abundant floods of dark mud concealed beneath, are occasionally ejected in jets beneath the opening rafters, and bespatter the pedestrians in an edifying manner. Although Yassy is now a town of considerable importance, it only became the seat of the Government in 1574, when Moldavia submitted to the Ottomans. The old capital and bishop's see was Suczava, a town in Upper Moldavia, built in a valley, near the sources of the Pruth, at the roots of the Transylvanian Alps, which place is now a pile of ruins, situated in the Austrian Bukowina. Yassy became first known in modern history in the wars of Charles XII. of Sweden and Peter the Great, related at a previous page. It was again occupied by the Russians in 1739, 1771, and 1788, on which last occasion it was held by them till 1792, when it was restored by the Treaty of Yassy, signed in January 1792, by Prince Repnin and the Grand Vizier Yousouf.

The effluvia from the extensive marshes surrounding Yassy render the inhabitants very unhealthy, and occasion annually a great mortality among them from the severe intermittent and remittent fevers which they generate. Nor do we see how this fair and fertile region will be rescued from pestilence, famine, and misery, so long as the Christian Powers of Europe connive at the unprincipled incursions of Russia into her neighbour's territories, representing that such acts are not a *causus belli*. Whenever the plague has entered Moldavia, Yassy has suffered most severely; and the plague has always been introduced by filthy Russian garrisons, and not by the Turks. In 1771, the Russian garrison inoculated this town and the whole country with the plague, which spread to Poland and caused a terrible mortality there as well as at Moscow. Such are the blessings conferred upon the nations by Russian intrigues and British diplomacy. Besides the calamities of pestilence, Yassy is also subject, from its locality, to other ravages, arising from troops of hungry wolves, which pour down, during the long winter nights, from the adjacent forests on the mountain, and elope with domestic animals, and occasionally unprotected females, or children whose mothers do not know that they are out. To oppose these intruders, every household is provided with a brace or two of large wolf-dogs, which maintain sweet music during the night, baying the moon and banishing sleep from the eyelids of

visitors, unaccustomed to these canine watchmen. "These trusty guardians," proceeds the British traveller, "quite murdered my sleep during my stay, and made me often feel the force of the words of the Roman poet, '*Vigilum canum tristes excubiæ*;' for no sounds can be more melancholy than that of 10,000 or 12,000 wolf-dogs baying the moon at intervals all night, while the distant hamlets at the foot of the mountains re-echoed the sound. During the daytime, the clatter of the wooden mallets beating the tablets at the doors of the Greek churches, calling the people to prayers, the use of bells being prohibited in the Turkish provinces, produces a most disagreeable effect."

Yassy is in the process of transition since this description was written, and its old picturesque characteristics are daily disappearing, as the reader will find at a future page. The following statistics relating to Yassy will be found useful by the reader:—Yassy was almost burned down in 1827, and the new town is flourishing and well built. It does not contain so many churches proportionally to its size as Bucharest; it possesses a spacious monastery dedicated to St. Basil, St. John, Chrysostom, and St. Gregory the Theosophite. This monastery has two fine towers, and is adorned with precious stones and arabesques. It was founded in 1622, and is a monument of Turkish tolerance. Yassy possesses a scientific institution, a college, &c. The pavement of the city has been greatly improved since the fire, as the reader will discover at a future page.¹

The total amount of taxes paid by Moldavia, as estimated in 1785, was 2,840,000 piastres. It is now fixed at 1,400,000 piastres, independently of the capitation tax and the loods.

The stated salary of the Hospodar of Moldavia, although inferior to that of Wallachia, is not less than £100,000 sterling per annum. The Prince, independently of the tenth of all yearly incomes, has, as in Germany, the exclusive monopoly of post-horses, &c.; all the herds forwarded to Germany and Russia also pay a poll-tax, the amount of which must be considerable, as Moldavia sends yearly to foreign markets 100,000 head of horned cattle, besides sheep and horses. The other exports consist of wax, honey, tallow, hides, corn, timber, furs, smoked meats, cheese, salt, butter, wine, and tobacco.

The population in both Principalities is divided into three castes,—the boyards, or nobles of the different orders; the tradesmen of all descriptions; and the peasants, with others, who are liable to the common taxes and contributions.

All the male peasants, if sixteen years old, are obliged to pay the capitation tax, save a few called sokotelniki, divided into associations called *Loods*. Tradesmen, Ottoman Jews, and other rayas, do not belong to the class of peasants, but pay taxes at an equal rate. The annual tribute paid by Moldavia to the Porte is 1,000,000 piastres; this money has been confiscated by the protecting Russians, who have left no means untried to block up the Danube and ruin their protégés.

Besides the various important branches of revenue hitherto specified, the reigning princes possess many other means of raising money.

¹ See Travels in the Danubian Principalities, the Crimea, &c., by Prince Demidoff

The two Principalities are an inexhaustible source of riches to them, and their proverbial appellation of "Peru of the Greeks," is verified by experience.

The form of government, whether under the native or Greek voivodes, has undergone little change; the Turks, unlike Christians, making a point of not breaking their word, or interfering with the privileges granted to the conquered. The Prince is invested with absolute authority, and, till lately, was only controllable in his financial operations by the Divan, representing the senate; nevertheless, in levying extraordinary contributions, and in determining the mode of levying them, the signatures of a majority of members are requisite as a mere formality; and although the want of them would render acts of this kind illegal, they would still be put into execution as if they had them.

The executive administration is divided into different regular departments. The Divan, consisting of twelve members, is the supreme council, and is presided over by the Prince, who nominates new members to it every year, save the Metropolitan, whose ecclesiastical dignity secures him a permanent seat. It is assembled at least twice a-week, to receive, examine, and decide upon appeals in judiciary matters.

The decisions of the Prince are without appeal¹ for the natives of the country; and however oppressive or unexampled they may be, they cannot be abrogated by his successors.

In cases of moment, when the opinion of the Divan is unanimous against the Prince, or contrary to his wishes, the decision of the question is postponed, and the members are requested privately to pronounce in conformity with the views of the Prince. As non-compliance would lead to their disgrace and removal, it often happens that at the next sitting all the members vote the reverse of what they did at the previous one.

At Yassy there are two particular tribunals, for the revision of commercial and other differences existing between the natives and foreign subjects. They are called the foreign department, and are directed by a boyard, who has the title of Chancellor of Foreign Affairs, and two other judges.

There are also separate departments for the police, the treasury, and criminal cases, as well as a variety of petty offices for the different branches, most of which give in their reports directly to the Prince, and obtain his instructions.

The constitution of Moldavia does not permit the Prince to interfere with the affairs of the ecclesiastical council, nor with the financial affairs of the Metropolitan. The Archbishop is chosen by the nobles, and must be a native. The Bishop of Romania, next in rank, is usually promoted to be Archbishop. Both provinces abound with monasteries, so richly endowed by pious bequests that they are now the richest establishments in the country.²

By the latest accounts we learn that the administration of Moldavia was altered by the Treaty of Adrianople. The administrative and judiciary functions are separated, and the Logothete of Justice is the

¹ Latterly the princes in Wallachia and Moldavia were both mere tools of Russia.

² Wilkinson's Wallachia and Moldavia.

superintendent of law affairs. The Logothete of the Interior superintends all administrative affairs. The council consists of an assembly composed of sixteen boyards, thirteen deputies, and three churchmen. The former are elected for the space of five years, as in our own admirable and unfettered constitution.¹

We cannot avoid entering some remarkable conclusions, to which even blind and inveterate foes of Turkey are led by passing events. One author observes, "However defective Turkish legislation may be, the government of the Sultan is far preferable to that of the Czar. The Turks, even in the worst of times, never countenanced serfdom in their dominions; they did not interfere with the personal freedom of rayas; and the latter were at liberty to dispose of themselves as they pleased, without incurring the risk of being seized as runaway slaves, half-beaten to death, or sold, as in Russia. Indeed, we have reason to believe that the Christians in Turkey would not submit to the vexatious despotism of the Czar without a struggle. This we say because we know the strong attachment they feel for their own patriarchal government, wherever the mild rule of the Sultan is administered by an enlightened Mussulman. The Moldo-Wallachians are decidedly anti-Russian, and so are the Greeks and Albanians; and the great bulk of the population look up to the Turk as their deliverer." On reading these extracts, we congratulate Captain Spencer on the advances he has made in knowledge.²

The early history of Moldavia is too unimportant to deserve more than a passing notice; but the myths of classical writers, and especially of Homer, have contributed to give an interest to what otherwise would prove a sterile catalogue of names. A modern author observes that "in many respects Moldavia may be regarded as one of the most interesting portions of Europe; not only as the latest of the Roman conquests, but as the favoured abode of the Hippomulgi, the patriarchal race celebrated by Homer for their length of days, purity of manners, and piety to the gods." The origin of the term Moldavia is singular, if we may credit this author. The primitive Scythians, like the Hindoos, believed in the incarnation of the Divinity in the person of a man named Xamolxis, who, after he had been a slave in Greece and Egypt, came back to his native country, and concealed himself for three years in a cave. He tried to civilize his countrymen; and, in order to obtain their belief in his supernatural powers, he made them think that he possessed eternal life, and was just raised from the dead. It was the practice of the Scythian kings to retire to this holy mountain to consult this eternal priest or Mollah; and from this patriarch we are told that the country was called *Mollah-div-ia*, or the territory of the immortal Mollah.

The only objection that occurs to this derivation is the fact that *Mollah* is a Semitic word, whereas the populations and languages of Wallachia have been exclusively Indo-European.

The doctrines of Xamolxis resembled those inculcated by Pythagoras, Shelly, and Mr John Smith,—respect to the gods, abstinence from animal food, and a life devoted to the practice of deeds of virtue and

¹ Demidoff's Travels.

² Russia, Turkey, the Black Sea, &c., p. 125.

patriotism. The beneficial results of this vegetarian system were displayed in happiness and peace of mind, healthiness of body, great length of days, and a virtuous fulfilment of the duties of society. "The Hippomulgi," says Homer, "were sustained by milk, long-lived, and the justest of men." In fact their country seems to have been an Eden, where the lion and the lamb lay down together, and a little child could lead them. But this people, like all others, fell from paradise, and their country resembles the infernal regions since the Muscovite has let loose the dogs of war among them. The Dacians, who were the successors of the Hippomulgi, were the bravest defenders of their country, according to the Roman historians; and the Moldavians of the present day are described by some travellers as possessing more virtues than many of their neighbours, or even the most favoured nations, which is not saying much. They are, however, oppressed by hordes of Greek tyrants, and cursed with the worst of governments, a deceitful representative system. But the beauty and fertility of the soil is still the same as in the time of their sires, and health and longevity are still found among the Moldavian mountains. Indeed, if the country were incorporated in Turkey instead of protected by Russia, it would be in a very flourishing state.

Leaving the region of fable, we find that Moldavia was successively Dacian, Roman, Sarmatian, and Hungarian. Hence the mixed nature of its people and language. It was not till the year 1354, under the reign of Alexander the Good, that it began to have a special government and appellation. It was then that the population, consisting of the fragments of so many nations, became homogeneous, and ended by forming a brave, independent, and warlike nation, whose gallant achievements filled the neighbouring countries, and all Europe, with admiration.

In 1400, Alexander the Good gave it its first written laws, organized the different branches of his administration, formed the classification of his nobility, and began the distribution of the lands which, down to that time, had only belonged to a few privileged families. Even under his reign (whose memory is still revered by the people) the severe struggles of Moldavia with Poland and Hungary began. At the end of the sixteenth century, Rodolph the Black, surnamed the Brave, who combined the skill of the diplomatist with the talents of the general, united Moldavia, Transylvania, and Wallachia, under one national flag, being inspired with the noble, but visionary ambition, of re-establishing the glory of ancient Dacia, when the dagger of an assassin put an end to his generous plans, and plunged this fine country into the anarchy from which it had just been rescued.

In the same half century, several clever and ambitious princes governed Moldavia, so as to bring it continually more into notice. History informs us that its fertile plains were ravaged and its towns sacked successively by the Poles, Hungarians, Turks, the Cossacks of Ukraine, and the Tartars of the Crimea. Nevertheless, it never submitted to their sway. Moldavia, which was frequently coveted by all its neighbours, gave numerous examples of what can be effected by heroism and by the love of independence. But never did these noble sentiments appear in a more brilliant light than in the war that raged between Stephen the Great and Bajazet II. This Sultan, dazzled by the splendid victories he had gained in Eastern Europe, in Asia, and

in Africa, ultimately turned his eyes to the westward, thinking, like Nicholas, that no power could resist the weight of his triumphant arms. Moldavia, which was then in alliance with Transylvania as well as Hungary, was naturally marked out as one of his intended conquests. Accordingly he crossed the Danube in 1448, followed by the formidable janissaries, penetrated into the province, and, taking possession of the fortresses of Kilia and Akerman, burned all that he found on his road, as the Muscovites do now. The population, which was stricken with fear, sought refuge in the impenetrable forests of the Carpathians, whilst the treasury, the clergy, and the family of Stephen, were all removed to the fortress of Niamtza, which was regarded as the Keep of Moldavia. In this critical state of affairs, Stephen formed the daring plan of stopping the triumphant march of the Sultan, and, rallying the remains of his army, he watched the movements of the enemy, whilst he lay concealed in the defiles of the mountains. But though his efforts were crowned with a certain degree of success, they were unable to prevent Bajazet from encamping with his janissaries at a place called *Resboyeni*, situated near the Sereth, in the midst of an immense plain, favourable for an engagement between the two armies. The most memorable battle related in the annals of Moldavia took place at this spot, on the 26th of July.

After performing prodigies of bravery, Stephen, being enveloped by his enemies, was vanquished, and only escaped with great difficulty to Niamtza, where he hoped to find a refuge. Exhausted with fatigue, he arrived at the gate of the fortress, and gave orders that they should be opened. But his mother, like a true Roumana, or rather, a thorough Spartan, imperiously refused to admit her son, and coming out on the rampart, exclaimed, whilst veiling her face, "What! am I to see my son fly before infidels! Has he forgotten that the whole nation calls him brave? Go! fly far from me! and die fighting, rather than come, like a woman, to seek shelter behind the walls of a fortress!"

These words gave the courage of despair to Stephen. He harangued the fugitives, inspired them with the enthusiasm that he felt, and made them swear to win or fall. The garrison of Niamtza joined the two thousand men who escaped the carnage of the great battle; and they all followed him, repeating the name of the noble Helen. Three days after the defeat, they arrived in the vicinity of Resboyeni, and took advantage of the moment when the Ottomans were scattered in disorder, intoxicated with victory, leaving only a small body to guard the camp.

Within an hour, the band of Stephen had darted into the camp, cut to pieces all that opposed them, snatched the crescent from the tent of Bajazet, planting an image of the Virgin in the middle of the same tent. The Turkish army was panic-stricken, and fled in disorder. Part of them perished in the Moldau and Sereth, the remainder found safety in flight.

The imperial tent was captured, and Stephen had the glory of putting to flight the terrible Bajazet, who thought himself, a few hours before, the master of Moldavia.

The fame of this victory spread so far, that even Rome celebrated the defender of Christendom. Poetry and painting have extended and preserved its memory throughout the Principalities, and a convent was built and dedicated to the Virgin on the spot called *Vale Alba*.

Stephen, who was adored by his subjects, and respected by his foes, raised Moldavia to a pitch of prosperity that it has never since enjoyed. At his death, he wished to secure, by his will, the future prospects of his country, entering in it the results of his long experience and consummate wisdom. Feeling his end approaching, he convoked a general assembly, in 1504, in his capital. Surrounded by his clergy, family, and nobles, he addressed the following remarkable words to his son Bogdan:—

“O Bogdan, my son, and you, all my faithful companions, you see me about to pay my debt to nature. All the glory of my past life is like a beautiful phantom that disappears in the shades of night. But to diminish the bitterness of this moment, swear to me to unite your efforts to preserve the religion and nationality of our country. Solyman is ready, like a bird of prey, to pounce upon you. Anticipate him, by taking him as your protector, if he leave you your civil and ecclesiastical laws, and your preponderance among your neighbours. But if he want you to sacrifice your liberty, do not scruple to die in defending it. War, and the martyr's crown, are better than tranquillity, purchased by the ruin of your country and its altars.”

These sentiments show that Stephen was a far-sighted statesman, as well as a valiant captain. Nor has his country lost, but rather gained by following his advice; for the Turks, unlike Russia, are not in the habit of breaking all their agreements, and have left the province what they promised, except in cases where the treachery of their new subjects obliged them to make some alterations.

The son of Stephen, following his father's wise counsel, submitted to the Porte in 1513. This was done coolly and deliberately of their own free choice, and not through compulsion or the imbecility of the monarch, as in the case of Poland and Georgia submitting to Muscovy. But the protectorate of Turkey was known to be a security; whilst all countries have found that of Russia to be their ruin. Selim, the successor of Solyman, readily accepted the protectorate, and signed an act by which he bound himself not to interfere with the free exercise of their religion and laws, granting them the right of electing their own hospodars; and, in short, all the prerogatives of a free country, only asking in return an annual gift of 4000 golden crowns, 40 mares, and 24 falcons. It is true that some of those privileges were afterwards restricted, but generally in consequence of the bad faith of the natives, who, like most Eastern Christians, seem to have no knowledge of the value of truth, honesty, or morality. Several hospodars appeared at subsequent periods, who, without being warlike, had a happy influence in the country. Amongst them we may especially notice Basile Loupo, in 1640, a prince who instituted numerous schools and libraries, and patronized learned foreigners.

We have already noticed Demetrius Cantemir, whom many Christian authors do not scruple to praise highly, though he appears to have had no notion of common honesty, gratitude, or good faith. But as he was a shrewd, subtle Greek, as he betrayed Turks, and strove to forward the hallowed work of Russian aggression, we presume that these grounds are a sufficient extenuation for all crimes in the eyes of those worthies. Demetrius Cantemir was born in 1673, the son of the reigning prince of Moldavia. He was sent in 1690 to

Constantinople, where he studied Turkish, music, Persian, and Arabic, and began his great work on Ottoman history. Setting aside his ambitious projects, Cantemir built a delicious palace on the Bosphorus, which afterwards became the property of the Sultana Valide. In this delightful retreat, he passed his time in literary pursuits, till the ambition of Peter the Great destroyed his peace and his honour, like that of many other persons.

When war broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1710, the Porte appointed Cantemir Prince of Wallachia. His first measures in that post were for the improvement of the country, but he was shortly seduced by the promises of Peter the Great, thinking it his duty to accept any propositions, however dishonourable, and to commit any infamy, under the pretext of their being Christian acts.

The following were the chief articles of his famous Treaty with the Czar :—

1. Moldavia will renew its old frontiers, under the protection of Russia.

2. The prince and people will swear fidelity to, and contract an alliance with, the Czar, immediately after the entrance of the Russian troops into the Moldavian territory.

3. The Prince of Moldavia will unite his troops with those of the Czar, to march in common against the enemy.

4. The Prince of Moldavia, and his successors, will enjoy an unlimited power in their Principality, under Russian protection.

5. No other family can attain to the throne, till the descendants of Cantemir are extinct.

The Moldavians never forgave Cantemir for making this treaty. His treachery was justly rewarded by the Turks depriving the provinces of the right of electing their own princes, which was only restored under Sultan Mahmoud in 1823. Those good Romani had even at that date certain misgivings respecting Russian protection, which have been subsequently confirmed. If this Principality had passed under Russian protection in 1710, how long would it have remained an independent nation? Let the reader look to Germany, Sweden, and Persia for an answer.

The above treaty was concluded between the Russian minister and the Vestiar Luca, and ratified by the Emperor in Poland on the 13th and 24th of April 1711.

Meanwhile the Turkish bridge over the Danube was continued by Cantemir to deceive the Ottomans, and the Principalities appeared quite devoted to Turkey.

Peter the Great arrived on the banks of the Pruth in June 1711. Accompanied by the Empress, and some officers, he proceeded to Yassy, where he was rejoined by Cantemir.

All the boyards and clergy paid him homage, and the treaty was solemnly read in the cathedral of St. Nicholas.

The Moldavian annals give a minute account of all the doings and sayings of the grand monarch at Yassy. He went on foot to the monastery of the Three Saints, accepted all invitations, and made splendid presents.

His disastrous campaign has been already described. So great was his distress at one time, that he wrote these memorable words to the

senate: "If I fall into the hands of the enemy, which is quite possible, do not regard me as your master, and do not obey any orders I may give you!"

Cantemir was followed by a thousand boyards to Moscow, where they settled. Their descendants form at present the lancer regiment of Charkow, and still speak Wallachian. As for Cantemir, he was the object of special favour on the part of the Emperor, whom he accompanied in his campaign in Persia in 1721, whence he returned to Moscow and died of fever, caught on the shores of the Caspian Sea.

After this period, Moldavia, like Wallachia, was governed by the vile and mercenary Greeks of the Fanar, down till the reign of Mahmoud.¹

CHAPTER II.

WALLACHIA.

THIS region forms a perfect natural fortress. To the northward it is separated by the steep and rugged Carpathians from Transylvania and the Banat, with which it communicates only by a few very narrow mountain-passes. The passes that unite it with Transylvania are, first, the Vulcan Pass, leading through Vorcsen and Vajdej, the Red Tower Pass on the Aluta, the Torzburg Pass between Rukuc and Cronstadt, the Törnezer Pass between Sinoja and Cronstadt, and the Bozaer Pass between Stana and Cronstadt. Wallachia is only connected with Moldavia by the narrow stretch of land previously described, and is bounded on all other sides by the Danube, which divides it to the westward from Servia, to the south and east from Bulgaria, forming a convex circle to the southward, with two large bends, one near Palanka below Widdin, the other by Rassoza. The course of the Danube along the border of Wallachia, between Orsova and Galatz, embraces a distance of 480 miles.

The characteristics of this river are of the greatest strategical importance. Below Orsova, and as far as Rahova, the stream is very rapid, and consequently offers few points where a passage of large masses of troops to the right bank can be effected. These points are the natural fords of the river, amongst which, that of Widdin-Kalafat is the most important. Farther down, the current of the river becomes slower, whilst its breadth increases, being from 2000 to 3000 feet across, on the average. It also divides into numerous arms, and forms islands, which, when the water is high, are usually overflowed, so that it is impossible to make a safe and permanent lodgment upon them. It is also important to observe, that whilst the left bank is uniformly low, and therefore exposed to frequent inundations, forming extensive and unhealthy marshes, the right bank is invariably steep, and accordingly inaccessible, save at a few spots where it sinks sufficiently

* Voyage en Turquie, &c., par M. Hommaire de Hell, v. 1.

to admit of a passage. But all these points on the right bank are secured against attack by fortifications.

The descent of the Danube, from Belgrade to Braila, comprising a distance of 500 miles, amounts to 191 feet; from Braila to the mouth, a distance of 100 miles, it amounts to only 46 feet.

Although this circumstance would seem, at first sight, to facilitate an attack from Bulgaria on Wallachia, this apparent advantage is more than neutralized by the marshy nature of the left bank, which renders a passage from the right bank into Wallachia only possible in a few places. These spots can be easily fortified, so as to secure them against the incursions of armies from the right bank. Hence, though it would have been easy for the Turks to prevent the Russians from occupying Wallachia in 1853, as we have suffered them to enter, it is not so easy to remove them.

It is unnecessary to dilate on the importance of the basin of the Danube for the trade of Western Europe. This noble stream, which rises in the heart of civilized Europe, pours its waters through a large portion of the most fruitful countries of our hemisphere, till it reaches its eastern extremity, and forms a highway of communication with Asia and the East generally. This view of the case is strengthened by the circumstance, that in proportion as you leave its banks, the country gradually loses in fertility; whilst in its immediate neighbourhood, the industry of man, assisted by the advantage of an easy culture, has converted the land into a real garden.

Without reverting to many other arguments to enforce the importance of this main artery of Europe, it must be evident, from a glance at the map, that it cannot be a matter of indifference into whose hands the mouth of this mighty stream falls. Notwithstanding the introduction of railways, this great watery highway will always remain of the utmost importance for the productions of Germany and Hungary, and the cargoes of corn shipped in Wallachia to supply the wants of Western Europe. The importance of the mouth of the Danube for our well-being has been long acknowledged, and was guaranteed at the Treaty of Vienna. But the Austrian Government have suffered Russia to seize, occupy, and almost close the Sulina mouth, in opposition to treaties, out of amiable compliance with the aspirations of the Court of St. Petersburg.

Returning to the territorial configuration of Wallachia, we find that its northern part is elevated and intersected by southern branches and outliers of the Carpathians. But in the southern part, beginning at Bucharest, which stands 255 feet above the sea, it sinks suddenly towards the Danube, which at Braila is only 46 feet above the sea, and the country slopes down, especially to the eastern bend of the Danube at Rassoia. Owing to the level nature of this part of the Principality, it presents large and extensive bogs and marshes.

After the Danube, the most important rivers of Wallachia are the Schyl, the Alt, which separates Little from Great Wallachia, the Argis, flowing in the vicinity of Bucharest, and the Jalinitza, which pours into the Danube, opposite Hirsova.

Wallachia possesses no fortified towns except Braila; and few important strategical positions, save the natural passes on the

northern frontier, and the Danube to the south. Giurgevo, Oltenitza, and Turnu, which were more or less fortified formerly, were destroyed in previous wars between the Russians and Turks; Giurgevo having been dismantled by the Russians in 1829. Even Bucharest, the capital of the Principality, is not fortified. Braila is not, strictly speaking, a fortress; but a town fortified with an earthen wall or rampart. Its former fortifications were destroyed by the Russians during the siege in 1828, and never restored, a matter of the greatest disadvantage for the defence of the country, because not only is this town so happily placed as to admit of being made a place of great strength, but by its extreme strength, if properly fortified in conjunction with its *tête de pont* at Matchin, it can command the line of operations of every army which attempts to pass from Moldavia into Wallachia, or from Bessarabia into the Dobrudscha. The Russians, who have a quick eye when their own interest is concerned, became aware of this circumstance in 1828, nor did they grudge the greatest exertions and losses to take possession of this place.

Wallachia is entirely deficient in well made or well maintained military roads. The necessities of commerce have developed three systems of roads, whereof the first begins at Orsova, and running through Czernez receives the branch-lines from the side of the Banat and terminates at Krajova. From this town, which is the capital of Little Wallachia, one road runs to Widdin-Kalafat, and another to Turnu-Nikopoli, and a third to the junction with Bucharest.

The second main line runs from Fokshany, the border town of Moldavia, through Rimnik (a place which gave Suwarrow his title of Rimnijski, on account of a victory he won there), Buzua, Ploeszti, Tirsova, to Bucharest. From the latter metropolis two roads run through the places of the greatest strategic importance on the Danube, which in all previous wars have been spots where armies have passed from Wallachia into Bulgaria. One of these roads leads south-west to Fratesti, Giurgevo, and Rustchuk, and the other south-east to Budesti, Oltenitza, and Turtukai. The forking of these two roads at Bucharest constitutes a triangle, of which the base is formed by the Danube, whilst the apex is at the capital, and this triangle is calculated to be of great importance in the present contest, if the war be not brought to a disastrous termination by a deplorable peace. Besides these roads, three other lines unite the two frontier posts, Fokshany and Orsova. One of these lines runs through Buzua, Bucovu, Ploesti, Tergovistea, and Pitesti to Orsova, and receives all the branch-roads leading through the Carpathians from Transylvania. A second road runs from the Moldavian frontier through Bucharest, Slatina, and Krajova, towards the frontiers of Hungary; and finally, a third line runs along the Danube, and in this way all the towns situated on that stream are placed in immediate connection with each other, as well as with the main line running along the Carpathian border, to which they are united by cross roads.

But almost all these roads, excepting the two leading from Bucharest to Orsova, and Fokshany, which are kept in some slight degree of repair, are in a very bad state, so that they can only be used during a continuance of fine dry weather; whilst they are quite impassable for heavy or speedy conveyances in the rainy season on account of their

bottomless ruts, and the want of bridges over the furious mountain torrents running in deep and steep beds. Hence, all military operations are out of the question during that season. The country is quite open to the south and eastward, and after passing the line which unites Krajova with Bucharest, and Fokshany, it slopes in a dead level down to the Danube. The mountains are covered with forests, whilst in the levels there is only a little wood on the Danube. The peasants' houses are generally wretched hovels, concealed in the earth, consisting of mud and wattles; the soil is commonly very fruitful, and thinly peopled; but large tracts of land are sandy, marshy, and covered with lakes or bogs.

The summer is very hot in this region, but in the winter the east winds prevail, often accompanied by a cold of 30 degrees Reaumur, and render this season almost worthless for military operations, on account of the storms which they occasion. Nevertheless, in the winter of 1828-29, the Turks took advantage of its severity for making attacks on the Russians, which often terminated successfully for the former. Notwithstanding the extreme fertility of the soil, which causes agriculture to be confined to sowing and reaping, almost without any arduous preparation, this country does not yield a sufficient amount of produce to support a large army for many months. With the usual reckless destruction that accompanies Russian invasions, it must be evident that the produce of this fine province has long been exhausted, and as agriculture is almost at a stand-still during the horrors of war, and many of the unfortunate inhabitants have fallen victims to famine or Muscovite persecution, it will be long ere this garden of Eastern Europe recover its previous agricultural prosperity. The loads of corn that should have fed the starving poor in the west of Europe, have been trodden down or devoured by Cossack horses, or sunk in the Sulina mouth of the Danube. Yet the perpetrator of all this iniquity will escape unscathed at the peace.

The extreme importance of Wallachia in the war is somewhat diminished by the fact that its resources are limited and exhausted. It is true that Wallachia forms a necessary basis of the military operations of Russia in Turkey, without which no decided result could be anticipated, because the narrow border of Bessarabia and Bulgaria is nothing more than a defile which might be easily defended by the Turks, if they were not prevented by our diplomacy. But no hope of any great result can be anticipated from the occupation of Wallachia by Russia, without a large army is kept on foot there, because the entrance on the Moldavian border is so narrow and so distant, because the strategic line in Wallachia is so extended, and because the pivot and *point d'appui* is at the end of this extended line.

But in order to maintain an army of from 60,000 to 100,000 men in Wallachia for many months, Russia is obliged, owing to the limited resources of the Principality, to provide almost everything by supplies brought from the interior of the Empire, which can only be effected with the greatest labour, expense, and delay, on account of the badness of the roads. Nor must we lose sight of the inefficiency and notorious dishonesty of the Russian employés, who abstract half the supplies, and leave the troops to starve. Let the reader remember

that Russia, in the winter of 1828-9, had scarcely 60,000 men in the Principality, and yet hardly two-thirds of them escaped death by sickness and famine.

From these facts it results that Wallachia is more exposed to invasion from the south, whilst it is in a situation to oppose almost impassable obstacles in the way of its northern neighbours; hence its possession is a matter of immeasurable importance in the present war.

Before we pass to Bulgaria and the line of the Danube, we shall pause to consider the capital and the government of Wallachia, with the characteristics of the population and produce of the two Principalities.

Bucharest is described by one writer as an extensive, dirty town, situated on a low marshy ground, and containing 80,000 inhabitants, 366 churches, 20 monasteries, and 30 large *khans* or caravansaries.

About four centuries since, it was only a little village, the property of a person named Bukor, who gave it its name, which it retains to the present day. Gradually it grew into a town, and it continued to augment till it exceeded the former capital, Tirgovist, in its dimensions. The Voivode, Constantine Bessarabba, made it the permanent seat of government in 1698, deserting, with all his nobility, the city of Tirgovist, which is beautifully situated further in the interior, having on one side a splendid range of hills, and on the other, a spacious and delightful plain.

The Greek princes, who were elected as Voivodes for more than a century, continued to reside at Bucharest, probably because of its being near to the Turks, and Tirgovist was gradually abandoned by its remaining inhabitants, and is now a mere village. It contains many remains of ancient structures, including those of the Voivodes' palaces, which are the most remarkable. The river Dimbovitza runs alongside of it.

Reverting to Bucharest, we find that its palace, which was formerly a spacious edifice at the extremity of the town, was burned down in 1813 by accident. A late prince has since that time joined two houses into one, forming his palace.

Most of the remarks that have been offered on the architecture and streets of Yassy apply equally to Bucharest; but it is proper to add that, until lately, under the wooden pavements of that metropolis, to which the natives give the appropriate name of bridges, are large kennels, receiving the filth of the houses, and intended to convey it to the river Dimbovitza, running through the town. Little care is taken to keep those passages open, and the dirt accumulating, frequently stops them up. They remain in this stagnant state for months in the hot season, producing pestiferous exhalations, and generating putrid fevers, to which the citizens are very subject. In short, they want the Commissioners of Sewers sadly at Bucharest.

From a certain distance, and on elevated ground, the city of Bucharest offers itself to view with great advantage; the blending of house and foliage give it a peculiar beauty, but it resembles the effect of scenery in a theatre, delighting the eye at a distance, whilst on approaching it nearer, it is found to be a coarse daub.

About the end of the last century, the boyards used to visit each other, and go to court on horseback; but of late years, coaches, and

especially German caleches, gaudily ornamented, have been introduced, as the boyards consider it derogatory to use their legs. Yet it is common to meet in the streets a carriage glittering with gold, drawn by a pair of miserable hacks, and driven by a gipsy in rags.

There are numerous coachmakers at Bucharest and Yassy, but carriages sent from Vienna are preferred. The boyards are careless about the solidity, and only solicitous about the showiness of their carriages,—in this respect emulating the good taste of Christendom in most things. Hence they will purchase an old vehicle made up to deceive the eye.¹

More recent travellers give the following statements respecting Bucharest:—The celebrated walk at Bucharest, forming the Rotten Row and Prater of the boyards, is only a dusty street full of ruts. The town itself is large, its people are active, and its shops numerous. Some streets are especially devoted to certain trades. Bucharest presents a great variety of costume, and contains many Jews. It possesses a museum and a public library; and some writers affirm that Prince Alexander Ghika has done much for the education of youth. The Grand Hospital of Pentelemin is constructed and arranged on a very large scale, and is provided entirely with iron beds. The building appropriated to the meetings of the representatives is situated next to the Metropolitan Church, which is surrounded by vast cloisters. This edifice is provided with three fine belfries, and with domes of metal painted green as at Moscow. The peristyle contains many paintings, but the nave is narrow. The capital of Wallachia being intermixed with gardens like Moscow, covers a vast space of ground, and its aspect is highly picturesque, which is increased by its numerous spires, amounting to sixty. The newspapers, even before the happy advent of the Russians, were not allowed to repeat the debates of the Chambers. The population of Bucharest was estimated at 60,788 more than ten years ago, and the number of houses at that date was 10,074. It contained 26 monasteries and 96 churches. The boyards at Bucharest amounted to 2598, the secular priests to 236, the Jews to 2583. The town has five quarters, called Yellow, Red, Green, Blue, and Black. There are Commissioners of Police for each quarter, with an Agha at their head.

The remarks already offered on the government of Moldavia apply equally to Wallachia. There are, however, a few additional particulars, exclusively applicable to the latter Principality, which we shall here lay before the reader.

The Court of the Hospodars of Wallachia presents, in its corruption as well as in its officials, the closest approximation to the vile household of the Byzantine emperors—a scandal to history and to Christendom.

We have, first, the *Metropolitan*, or Archbishop.

The *Ban*, a title taken from the former Bans of Krajova.

Vornik de Tsara de Suss, or Judge of the Upper Country.

Vornik de Tsara de Joss, or Judge of the Lower Country.

Logothett, or Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal.

Third Vornik,
Fourth Vornik, } Common Judges at the Divan.

¹ Demidoff, vol. i. p. 112.

Logothett de Obichey; his business consists in assembling the Divan.

Vornik de Couttu, Treasurer for Pensions of Boyards' Widows.

Vornik de Polittia, Collector of the Capitation Tax in Bucharest.

Clutshiar, Keeper of the Code of Laws.

Clushiar d'Arna, a kind of Sergeant-at-Arms.

An individual who is not born or naturalized a Wallachian or Moldavian, cannot be admitted a member of the Divan.

The *First Postelnik*, or Master of Ceremonies and First Minister at Court, generally a near relation of the Prince.

The *Spathar*, formerly a kind of Minister-at-War, now Director-General of Police.

The *Vestiar*, Treasurer of the Principality.

The *Hetman*, in Wallachia, has to carry into execution the Prince's sentences in matters of judicature.

Camarash, or First Chamberlain, the Prince's Private Treasurer and Judge over the Jews.

Armash, a Judge of criminal cases in the lower orders, and Superintendent of Prisons.

Agga, Chief of Police in Bucharest.

Portar Bashi, directs the correspondence with neighbouring Turkish Pashas.

All the previous dignities give the rank of Boyard of the First Class to those who hold them.

The Boyards of the Second Class are the following :—

Caminar, Collector of Duties on spirits, tobacco, &c.

Cornisso, Master of the Horse.

Stolnik, Chief Steward at Court.

Sardar, Chief Colonel of Guards.

Third Class Boyards :—

Medelnitshev, Receiver of Petitions to the Hospodars, &c.

Pittar, Superintendent of the Prince's Equipages.

Sludgier, formerly Commissary of the Regiment of Body-Guards, now an empty title.

Shatvar, Keeper of the Prince's Tents.

Second Logothett, *Second Postelnik*, and *Vestiar*, *Third Logothett*, *Postelnik*, and *Vestiar*,—all these being public clerks, attached to the offices from which they derive their titles.

Public officers are renewed every year,—an evil as great as that which would result from annual parliaments. The custom arises from there being 30,000 boyards in Wallachia, all of whom are entitled to public employment, at least for a time. There is commonly a most indecorous scramble for the best posts among the first families.

Though most of the principal families indulge the idea that no nobles in Europe can boast of better blood, few can trace their origin more than a century back. A family in Wallachia bear the name of Palæologus, and confidently affirm that they descend from the race of the last Constantine, Emperor of Constantinople. It would not be difficult to refute the assertion.

Wallachia is divided into seventeen districts, including the Banat of Krajova, composed of five. They are called Rimnik, Buzea, Sako-yeni, Prahova, Yallimitza, Ilfov, Dimbovitza, Vlaska, Tellyorman, Moussztello, Argis, Olt, Romanatz, Vultza, Doltz, Gorge, Mehederitz.

Two *Ispravniks*, or deputies, govern each of these districts; they are appointed annually, and collect the tribute, &c. The first is often given to the sons of boyards, like government offices to hungry younger sons in England. Their salary is 500 piastres per month, besides perquisites.

A voivode named Matthew Bessarrabba, who governed Wallachia from 1633 to 1644, instituted laws taken from Justinian's code, and modified by local customs. His example was followed in Moldavia. Several princes made changes in the original code, and recent hospodars have revised them, and published them under their own names—Callimachi and Caradja. All suits are judged in conformity with these laws, but the Prince interprets the sentences as he pleases, and his will is, in fact, the only predominating law.

Recent Russian authorities state that the administration of justice has been improved since the new regime has been introduced. There are now three Courts,—District Courts, Courts of Appeal, and the Divan. There are, however, no juries, and the code of 1818 remains the basis of the present system. Litigation is frequent, as in all Christian countries. Advocates are now organized in a series or order, but taken at random. In penal and criminal law, death is seldom pronounced on homicides; but flogging and other disgraceful and degrading penalties are common, as in Russia.

As regards the constitution of Wallachia, which Russia has professed to protect and improve, it has been virtually abrogated since the Muscovite influence and invasions have increased. Hence arose the insurrection of 1848, when the Liberal party wished to appropriate to the wants of the State the enormous church lands. This attempt has converted all the clergy into ardent advocates of Russia.

Captain Spencer informs us, that since Russia assumed the protectorate of the Principalities, she has been gradually introducing her own vexatious systems of administration, and, in many instances, demoralization. To each district, as in Russia, she has appointed an *Ispravnik*—a superior magistrate, with numerous subalterns connected with his office—whose office it is to maintain the peace, carry out the orders of the Executive, gather in the taxes, and examine matters referring to criminal and civil cases.¹

These men are petty tyrants, aping the Russian employés, and bribery and corruption thrive in every shape amongst them. The superior courts of justice are also organized as in Russia, and every step is made by paying your way. Thus, every country protected or infected by Russia becomes utterly corrupt and rotten. When the gallant Captain was in the Principalities, the Russian Consul, Budberg, and a Pole, Halchinsky, faithful tools of the Czar, completely ruled those countries, Prince Stirbey of Wallachia and Prince Ghika of Moldavia being mere shadows and puppets, under the empty title of Hospodars.

The former was raised to power by the Revolution of 1848, when he succeeded his brother George. The family of Stirbeys are unpopular in Wallachia, on account of their obscure origin and subserviency to Russia. Ghika was also raised to power in 1848, succeeding Michael Stourdza. The Ghikas are an ancient and a popular family. One

¹ Spencer's Russia, Turkey, &c.

member of it, Gregory Ghika, did much to improve the state of his country, notwithstanding the opposition of Russia. It is needless to add that these hospodars have been deposed and dismissed by Russia, that the public revenue has been confiscated, and that Nicholas has at length thrown off the mask by incorporating the Principalities in the Holy Russian Empire. Robbery, murder, and extortion, in the name of the Prince of Peace, and of the Cross of Christ; and yet the Emperor is thought a man of honour and principle by the Prussian Court!

A writer familiar with the history and antiquities of the Principalities, observes, that it is sufficiently established that these two provinces, joined to those of Transylvania and Temesvar, composed the kingdom of Dacia, finally conquered by the Romans.

He adds that the Dacians were originally a Scythian or Sarmatian tribe, resembling in language and manners the Thracians, and adds that the Greeks regarded them as members of the Thracian race. They were a sober and vigorous people, as we have seen when speaking of Xamolxis.

The progress of Roman conquest brought the imperial legions of Augustus into contact with the Dacians, then governed by a warlike prince called Boerebestes, who defied the power of his aggressor. After his death, the monarchy, being divided into several principalities, was a good deal broken by the Romans, who always took advantage of the errors and misfortunes of their neighbours, like the Russians. But the last Dacian king, called Dercebalus, a most able and gallant warrior, united his countrymen once more under one sceptre, A.D. 87.

The first irruption of the Dacians into the Empire took place in the latter part of the reign of Augustus, and they continued long to harass the Romans, without any decided advantage on either side. At length the Emperor Domitian, roused by their depredations, marched forth in person to reduce them.

He was unfortunate in his war, like Nicholas, and was reduced to sue for peace, the Dacians not being fettered, like the Turks, by diplomatic protection. Domitian was reduced to agree to pay Dercebalus an annual tribute, which was regularly paid by the Romans till the year 102, when the Emperor Trajan resolved to discontinue it. The Dacians justly regarded this act as freeing them from their obligation to observe peace, and, crossing the Danube, they again laid waste the Empire.

Trajan, resolved to chastise the invaders, put himself at the head of a powerful army, and driving the Dacians before him, crossed the Danube, engaged and defeated their armies, one after another, and forced at length Dercebalus to acknowledge himself his vassal. After this brilliant success, Trajan returned to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, with the name of Dacicus, and with a stately column, which still attests his military virtues or successes.

But Dercebalus was not so easy to subdue. Shaking off the yoke, he attacked the neighbouring Jazygoe, tributary to the Empire, and Trajan was forced to march against him again with a vast army. He reached the Danube in the autumn, and thinking it prudent to procrastinate, he spent the interval, not in prescribing rules for the dimensions of his soldiers' beards, but in building a magnificent bridge across the Danube, under the direction of Apollodorus of

Damascus, the remains of which still attest the grandeur of Roman energy, and our littleness.

At the return of spring, the legions commenced hostilities by crossing the bridge. The war was long, but ended in the subjugation of the Dacians and the death of their king, who killed himself, that he might not fall into the hands of his foes.

Dacia, thus reduced to a Roman province, was soon filled with Roman colonists. Towns were built, and paved roads carried through those fertile plains which have been just reduced to a desert by the protection of Muscovy. But Roman, unlike Russian conquests, were wont to improve and enlighten the countries they reduced.

Dacia was governed by a pro-prætor till A.D. 274, but under Gallienus it was seized by the Goths and other barbarians.

A few Roman legions remained in the province under Aurelian, but that emperor finding it impossible to maintain so distant a frontier, withdrew many of the Roman colonists, and settled them in Moesia.

During a hundred years the Roman citizens who remained behind in Dacia were exposed, like Britain, to the incursion of northern hordes; but, about 361, the Goths, who were the most powerful invaders, occupied and settled in the country, embracing Christianity, of which a sad travestie has been the prevailing superstition of Wallachia ever since.

In 376, the Huns appeared, and drove Athanaric with his Visigoths into Moldavia, where he raised a wall between the Danube and the Pruth, to protect himself against his new foes. But the Huns, like the Russians, were not to be stopped, and their approach so terrified the Goths that they fled by hundreds into the Roman territory, where they were suffered to remain by Valens in Thrace, upon condition that they should live peacefully, and serve in the army if required.

The Huns remained masters of Dacia till A.D. 453, when Ardaric and the Gepidæ, previously reduced by Attila, revolted against them, beat Ellach, the son of the Scourge of God, and drove back the Huns into Scythia. The Gepidæ, masters of Dacia, received a pension from the Romans, but they soon quarrelled with their neighbours the Lombards, and fought them for eight years, with the assistance of the Emperor Justinian.

At length the Lombards, under King Alboin, in alliance with the Avars, attacked and almost exterminated the Gepidæ. But Justinian's general, Narsis, alarmed at the success of the Lombards, induced them to join him in invading unhappy Italy, henceforth the victim of the stranger. Thus were Dacia and Pomerania abandoned by the Lombards to the Avars, who, under the name of White Huns, retained possession of it till destroyed by the Franks and Bulgarians.

Their hosts being swelled by various tribes of northern barbarians, pushed on in the seventh century, like the Muscovites, to the gates of Constantinople; but they met their Silistria, being so disgracefully defeated by the Emperor Heraclius that they never recovered the blow. This defeat in both cases was a cause of rapid decline.

About A.D. 700 appear the Bulgarians, coming from Russia and the Volga, and occupying that part of Moesia now called Bulgaria, after

committing excesses that exceeded the ruthless violence of the Vandals, and that has made their name infamous in Europe.

It was about this period that the name Wallachs appeared for the first time. The term signifies shepherds in *Dalmatian*, and the word has been corrupted by the Greeks into Wlach. All nations bearing this name were pastoral, and are so still in a great measure. Those people are styled Tchuban, or Tjuvan, *i. e.* a shepherd people, by the Albanians. They inhabit Wallachia, a part of Transylvania, and Moldavia or Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly. They call themselves Rumanje, or Rumankje, *i. e.* Romans, being partly derived from Roman colonists, to whom the right of citizenship was granted by the Emperor Caraculla in 212. Their connection with the Romans is proved by their language, which is chiefly composed of the *lingua rustica Romana*. At the same time it must be admitted that an infusion of Slavonic and other blood has considerably affected this race, though their type differs essentially from the Slavic, and they persist in calling their country *Tsara Rumaneska*, Roman Land, having a great antipathy to their Russian neighbours, which is a most singular circumstance, seeing how much they have suffered at their hands.

It seems that some of these Wallachs, mixed with other races, formed themselves into several petty independent states, one of which was situated between the Olt and Danube, under the Bann or Regent, Bessarrabba. Most of these states waged war with the degenerate Byzantine Empire, which was reduced to the last stage of corruption by a degenerate Christianity, by the sway of eunuchs, and the impunity of crime in the government.

In the ninth century, another irruption of barbarians swept over unhappy Dacia, which has been the slaughter-house of nations, and the victim of invasions from the Goths and Huns to the Russians, and the hungry regiments of the Protecting Powers. The most remarkable of the barbarians who next appeared were the Chazars, Patzinaces, Moangoures, Ouses, Koumans, and other Tartars.

Enslaved and oppressed by these savage hordes, the natives fled over the Carpathians to Hungary, and only returned in the eleventh century, after the retreat of the Tartars. They were led back by Raddo Negro and Bogdan, who settled on the Moldau, which is called Bogdania by the natives and Turks. Raddo founded Kimpolung, long the capital of the country, now a ruin. Some place the return of these chiefs in the beginning, others in the middle of the thirteenth century; and it is probable that their migration was caused by the irruption of Batu Khan, with 500,000 Moguls, into Poland and Hungary in 1241. The ravages of this scourge, who rivalled the Russians in barbarism, drove the Wallachians out of the smoking ruins of Transylvania into those of Dacia. Unhappy lands, the eternal victims of colossal robbers and wholesale executioners!

Bogdan and Raddo assumed the Slavonic title of Voivode, *i. e.*, Prince, and acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Hungary; but in the fourteenth century they became independent. Raddo built another city, and a handsome church at Campo d'Argis, whose exterior and interior have been beautified and adorned by succeeding Voivodes. It has preserved its original beauty, and is one of the finest monuments in Europe.

The Voivodate was made electoral, though it commonly passed from father to son. The population increased, and the country recovered, under the successors of Raddo, who do not appear to have been trammelled by British diplomacy, or threatened with Austrian protection. Many wars occurred between them and Hungary, but in 1391 the Voivode Meirtza attacked the Turks. Sultan Bajazet was at the time engaged in subduing the refractory princes of Carmania in Asia, but hearing of the aggression of the Christians he flew to Adrianople, and defeated the Voivode in a bloody battle; but the only terms imposed by the generous Turk was a tribute of 3000 piastres.

Wallachia continued to pay it to Turkey, who ever was true to her engagements. But, in 1444, Ladislaus, King of Hungary, induced the Voivode Dracula to join him with 4000 Wallachians in attacking the Turks, thus forfeiting his engagements. The Hungarians were beaten in the celebrated battle of Varna, a place noted for Turkish heroism and British apathy. Hunniades, the Hungarian general, retreating to raise another army, was ungenerously detained by the treacherous Dracula for a year, by which act he hoped to appease the Sultan. But the moment Hunniades reached Hungary he raised an army, attacked, defeated, and beheaded the Voivode, and raised a primate, named Dom, to the Voivodeship.

The volatile Wallachians joined the Hungarians again at this time against the Turks, but they were totally defeated at Orsova, in Bulgaria; and, finding at length that honesty was the best policy, agreed anew to pay tribute to the Porte, which they did till 1460, when they took advantage of the occupation Sultan Mohammed II. found in subduing the Archipelago, to break their word again.

Their Voivode Dracula (or Devil), who was the greatest monster that ever appeared in human form, after impaling multitudes, filling his country with lamentation and woe, and breaking all laws, human and divine, like several Russian Czars, crossed the Danube, and attacked the few scattered Turkish detachments on the left bank. But he only met with momentary success. Mohammed, flying to protect his own and his tributary people from the nameless enormities of the Voivode, drove back the monster, defeated him, and was received with transports in Wallachia, which had long groaned and bled under its devilish ruler. Dracula fled into Hungary, where he was imprisoned, and Bladus, his brother, was appointed Voivode in his stead. He succeeded, however, in recovering his authority at a later date, when he exceeded his earlier cruelties, and was at length put to death, like many Russian generals, by his own soldiers.

A treaty was concluded between Mohammed and Bladus—which shows the moderation of the Turk—and has been observed ever since with scrupulous honour and honesty by the Porte, save in two clauses, the violation of which have been justified by the contumacy and perfidy of subsequent Voivodes, who, like Cantemir, preferred Russian oppression to Ottoman loyalty. The annual tribute was fixed at 10,000 piastres. The Porte was never to interfere in the local administration, nor was any Turk to enter Wallachia without an ostensible reason. All Christians, who had once embraced the Moslem faith, and relapsed into Christianity, but who did this in Wallachia, were not to be molested. No mosque was to be built in Wallachia; and,

in short, never did a conquered country receive such favourable terms from a victor. It was divine charity, compared to the treatment of Christian countries by Russia and Austria; and the Porte was true to its engagements so long as the Principalities were honest and true.

Wallachia remained long in a peaceable state after the conclusion of this treaty; but in the year 1593, the Voivode Michel strove to break the engagements of the treaty. This Voivode, with Prince Sigismund, were unwise enough to throw off the mild sway of Turkey for that of the Austrian Emperor Rodolph, and the Pope. They were joined by the Moldavian Voivode Aaron.

After sending forth an empty and a bigoted manifesto, to give an appearance of justice to their proceedings, they marched against Sultan Amurath, who, dying suddenly in 1595, was succeeded by Mohammed III., who sent the Grand Vizier, with 40,000 Turks and 20,000 Tartars, across the Danube. They suffered a series of defeats for five years, and the Sultan was forced to relinquish his claim.

In 1600, the Emperor Rodolph made a present of Transylvania to the Voivode Michel, whose government was so unpopular that his people revolted, and called back Prince Sigismund. An Austrian army under General Baste, together with the Wallachians of Michel, defeated the unfortunate Liberals of Transylvania, which was once more oppressed by the Hapsburgs and their allies. But General Baste quarrelled with Michel—for there is no honour between some thieves—and the Austrian caused the Voivode to be assassinated. His remains were buried in the monastery of Diallchus.

On the death of this prince, the Turks reoccupied Wallachia, when they met with no resistance, which proves that the people liked their sway. But notwithstanding the insurrection, Turkey did not incorporate the Principality, as Russia always does, and the Porte only claimed the tribute, which was raised in amount, whilst the future Voivodes were generally those of the Sultan's own choice.

The suspension of the right of electing their own prince was caused by the perfidy of the Wallachian government imitating that of Moldavia.

During the reign of Achmet, the Porte had declared war against the Emperor in 1695; and the Voivode, Constantine Branervaur Bessarrabba of Wallachia, was directed to collect an army and march into Austria to assist the operations of the Grand Vizier, who was on the side of Servia. The Voivode partly obeyed; but, being probably bribed into the Emperor's cause, like a certain influential London journal, he abstained from taking an active part in the campaign, and by that circumstance favoured the operations of the Austrians. At the peace of Carlowitz, the Emperor Leopold rewarded the Voivode's treachery by giving him the title of Prince of the Roman Empire, with the gift of some estates in Transylvania, foreshadowing the diamond rings and snuff-boxes of Nicholas. These circumstances could not be concealed from the Porte, which found it expedient to suppress its wrath for some years.

In 1710, Bessarrabba was drawn into a secret correspondence with the Czar Peter, with the view of helping the Muscovites in their projected war with Turkey. The Voivode promised a contingent of 30,000 men, and abundance of provisions. But his people did not second

him, as they had always preferred giving a tribute to Turkey rather than endure Russian protection.

The correspondence became known to the Porte, which justly resolved to put Bessarabba to death, after the discovery of this double treachery; for those were days when men could not violate their oaths and betray their country with impunity.

Cantemir was employed as an agent to secure the person of Bessarabba, as, judging by themselves, the Turks thought this prince bound by gratitude to be faithful to them. But being a Greek Christian, he took his oath, and sided with Russia, as we have before related.

It appears that as the rupture between the Sultan and the Czar drew nigh, Bessarabba was alarmed by an evil conscience, and thought it prudent to take no part in the war, especially as his people were all opposed to the Russians; hence he betrayed both Russia and Turkey. At the conclusion of the war, eager to regain favour with the Porte, he sent large presents to the Turkish ministers. But his days were numbered, Ali Pasha the Grand Vizier, sent a Capigee Bashi with a hundred men to Bucharest in the Passion-Week, 1714. The next morning he went to see the Voivode, and placed a black kerchief on his shoulder, the sign of deposition in Turkey, where it is usual to strike high, and not low delinquents, as with us. The Voivode was at first confounded, but soon burst into a string of invectives against the Sultan and the Turks, summing up the many services he had performed; but the Capigee placed a guard over his person, and read before the Divan the firman which deposed him and declared him to be a traitor. The inhabitants of Bucharest remained tranquil spectators of these acts of justice, and made no effort to release the Voivode, for, unlike certain historians, they were incapable of defending Christian perfidy and dishonour.

The Turkish guard, with that cool gallantry for which the Ottomans are remarkable, carried off the traitor without molestation; Stephen Cantacuzene, a man of Greek origin, was declared Voivode in his stead by the Sultan, and the family of Bessarabba was removed to Constantinople, where he and his four sons were beheaded.

The rest of the family were exiled to Kutahije, but generously suffered to return to Wallachia after three years.

Henceforth the right of election was suspended, and the Voivodes were appointed by the Porte from the Greeks of the Fanar, a great misfortune for the country, as these men, like their countrymen generally, were unprincipled, rapacious, and servile. Of these princes, one alone, Constantine Mavrocordato (A. D. 1735), is said to have devoted himself with zeal to the welfare of the country. But Mahmoud, amongst other reforms, restored to the Wallachians and Moldavians the right of electing their own princes; for which boon they have generally shown their gratitude by conspiring with Russia against the Porte. They have met a just reward at the hands of Muscovy, which, as usual, has broken its word and deprived them of their power and dignity. As regards the mass of the people, every year has taught them to value the mild sway of Turkey, and to detest the tyrannical protection of Russia. Justice, policy, and charity, should lead Western diplomacy to incorporate the Principalities in the Ottoman Empire.

As the population of the two Danubian Principalities is identical in origin and character, it will be most convenient to treat the Wallachians and Moldavians under one head.

As an evidence of the miserable condition of the inhabitants of Austria and Russia, we shall here observe that a tide of immigration has long been flowing into the Principalities from Transylvania and Bessarabia; and as a proof of the superior happiness of the Christian peasantry in Turkey Proper, we shall only add, that many colonies of Wallachians have of their own accord passed over the Danube into European Turkey, and settled and remained under Moslem rule, in preference to enjoying the Christian constitutional system at home.

We must premise our remarks on the population by stating that its foundation consists of a mixed race of Dacian and Roman blood, whence they proudly style themselves Romni—Romans. But as many tides of population have rolled over the country since the fall of the Roman Empire, there is a large admixture of Turkish, Greek, and especially Slavonic blood and words, in the race and its language. Their numbers in the two Principalities amount to 4,000,000. A British traveller, who visited the country some years ago, observes, that the dress and warlike aspect of the Moldavians is strikingly picturesque, and remains nearly the same as when Hadrian led their forefathers, the Dacians, in triumph to the Roman capital, and when classical artists chiselled the dying gladiator and the *basso relievo* on the pillar of Trajan. The Moldavians are distinguished from the Wallachians by the colour of their cap; the latter wearing black, and the former white head-dresses. Their dialect is as bold and masculine as their looks, composed of words principally Latin, but mingled with Turkish, Slavonic, and Romaic. They pronounce them with great energy and rapidity of utterance, and use rude gesticulations to enforce their meaning. Like the Tartars, they live as much on horseback as on foot, and they have the strongest affection for their gallant steeds, talking, soothing, whistling and shouting to them during their long gallops. The instant the postilions have vaulted on their backs, they wave their long whips round their heads, and, giving a loud whoop, the horses dart off full speed, without heeding hill or dale, bog or mire, to the great edification of all travellers who think discretion the better part of valour. Now and then they turn round to obtain an approving smile from the traveller. In fact, it is a scene in the Pampas, or in the steppes of Russia. When they approach a station, two or three men scamper off to the uplands to catch some of the horses grazing on the steppes, and drive them down to the next stage.

A British resident in the Principalities furnishes us with the following particulars relating to their social state:—

“They are generally a harmless, inoffensive people. Their mode of life among themselves is an uninterrupted calm. Though the men are addicted to drinking, quarrels and fighting are almost unknown amongst them; and, like Russian serfs, they are so used to blows and ill treatment from their nobles, that they approach those who have the least marks of superiority with the greatest submission.

The population of the Danubian Principalities, like all Eastern Christians, are not remarkable for strict morality. Gaming is as pre-

valent as in Russia among the wealthy and high-born, and drinking among the serfs. Neither sex is regularly instructed in religion; and it is by the mere intercourse of life they derive their notions of it, and by the examples of their elders, which are anything but perfect, that their principles in it are regulated. These circumstances are productive of the most pernicious influence over the moral character.

Money is the only stimulus of the boyards, and habit has made them spoliators. In a country where actions of an ignominious nature are even encouraged, and those of rapacity looked upon as mere proofs of dexterity and cunning, corruption of principle cannot fail to become universal.

The prodigality of the boyards is equal to their avidity; ostentation governs them in one manner, and avarice in another. Many have more debts than the value of their whole property is sufficient to pay; but their personal credit is not injured by them, nor do they experience a moment's anxiety.

The quality of nobility protects them from the pursuits of the creditor. The boyards are the great landed proprietors; and the revenue of some amounts to 200,000 or 300,000 piastres. Masked balls and clubs, especially the *club-noble*, are their chief amusements; and in all things they ape the ways and fashions of the Russian boyards.

About two hundred and ten days of the year are holidays, and they are strictly observed by the inhabitants, so far as relates to an exclusion of all kinds of work.

Religion consists, in these benighted countries, of a series of degrading mummeries, beside which the Koran is wisdom and purity itself. They are taught to plunge headlong into all the excesses of superstition. All ecclesiastics being of obscure, and most of the lowest extraction, they are despised by the boyards, as in Russia. Frequency of confession and communion, and the punctual observance of fast days, are prescribed with severity. The people believe implicitly that an exact adherence to these forms, and especially the confessor's absolution, can expiate all crimes. This absolution can commonly be obtained by a good fee.

The Gospel, when read, is heard with indifference and inattention. Preaching is not customary.

As regards the physical characteristics of the people, we are informed that the climate, or some other cause, has a remarkable influence on all the animal and vegetable productions. The domestic animals are remarkable for mildness. The beef, pork, mutton, &c., are insipid, the vegetables of an inferior flavour, and the flowers have little perfume. Finally, man—the chief work of nature—is here of a dull and heavy disposition, with weak passions, no strength of mind, and betraying a natural aversion to a life of industry.

An English resident gives the following description of the appearance, costume, and customs of the peasantry:—

“ Their ordinary food is composed of a kind of dough, to which they give the name of *mammaliga*, made of the flour of Indian wheat, sometimes mixed with milk. The first two or three days after a long Lent, they sparingly indulge themselves in meat; but the greater part cannot afford even so great a treat, and content themselves with eggs fried in butter, and the milk to their *mammaliga*.

“ They continue the whole day out of doors at work, and they bear with indifference all the extremes of the weather. Their industry, however, is not of a very active kind, and they take frequent rest.

“ Notwithstanding this mode of life, and the supposed influence of an ungenial climate, the generality of the peasants are a fine race of people. They have no peculiar turn of feature which may be called characteristic; from long intercourse with foreign nations, their blood seems to have become a mixture of many. The Eastern black eye and dark hair, the Russian blue eye and light hair, the Greek and Roman nose, and those features which distinguish the Tartars, are equally common amongst all the orders of these two nations.

“ The dress of the male peasants bears some resemblance to that of the Dacians, as represented in the figures of Trajan’s pillar at Rome. Their feet are covered with sandals made of goat-skin. They wear a kind of loose pantaloon, which is fastened to the waist by a tight leather belt, and closes from the knee downwards. The upper part of the garment is composed of a tight waistcoat, and a short jacket over it, of coarse woollen stuff, and in winter is added a white sheep-skin, which is hung over the shoulder in the manner of a hussar’s pelisse. The head is not deprived of any part of its hair, which is twisted round behind, and a cap is used to cover it, also made of sheep-skin, but which in summer is exchanged for a large round hat. The beard is shaved, and the whiskers alone are left to their natural growth.

“ The women are clothed from the neck to the ankles with a long gown of thick cotton stuff, of a light colour, made tight at the waist, in such a manner as to render the whole shape visible. They generally go barefooted, and they cover their heads with a common handkerchief, merely meant to keep up the hair. On holidays they add to their common stripe a coloured gown of a better sort; they button it up from the waist to the neck, round which they wear as ornament one or more strings of beads, or *paras*, pierced through for the purpose.¹

“ The ladies dress entirely in the European style, but they combine the fashions with Oriental richness and profusion of ornament. Their persons in general have not much beauty, but this deficiency is made up by a great share of natural grace and pleasant humour, and by a peculiar neatness of shape.”

Having attempted a general sketch of the topography, population, and productions of the Danubian Principalities, we shall wind up our account of these important regions by presenting a cursory view of their statistics, extracted chiefly from the French scientific writers, who drew up a large and valuable work on Turkey and Russia a few years since, by the orders of Prince Demidoff.

The total general of the population of Wallachia amounts to 1,751,182; the boyards number 30,000; the postelniki, or petty nobility, 4195; of Greek priests there are 6820; and the cultivators are estimated at 272,974. The total number of families amounts to 349,403.

* Wilkinson, p 160.

Passing to the lower animals, we find that the horses in Wallachia are estimated at 96,885, the oxen at 316,948, cows 280,017, sheep 1,390,000, pigs 315,428.

Wallachia contains 22 towns, 15 boroughs, 3560 villages, and 339,322 houses (in 1837). It is divided into 17 districts.

The statistics of justice give us the following results:—In 1835, there were 563 crimes, whereof 56 were murders and 457 robberies.

Wallachia contains 3753 churches, whereof 1364 of stone, and 202 monasteries. There were (in 1837) 3982 pupils, of whom 1745 at Bucharest. This Principality has three bishoprics: Rimnik, Argech, and Bouzeo.

The number of families paying taxes to the state amounts to 296,286, and the sum paid is estimated at 14,824,195 piastres. The peasants have each to pay 30 piastres per head, and 1-10th to the communal chest. The expenses of the State consist of—the annual gift to the Porte, 1,400,000 piastres; the Civil List, 1,600,000; Justice, 2,158,440; the Troops, 2,750,000; the total amount of the budget being 14,633,118.

The Wallachian imports, from 1831 to 1835, amounted to 31,848,076 piastres. The exports were 45,155,585. There are no manufactures of any importance in this country, which is strictly agricultural. Such manufactures as exist amount to 631, and there are 2299 water-mills. Russian and Turkish coins appear both to pass current in the Principalities. The Russian silver rouble is equal to about four francs, and 10½ piastres Turkish.

Passing to Moldavia, we find that its population is estimated at 1,002,605. The country is divided into thirteen districts, and order was preserved by 1200 police, till the Russians reduced all to anarchy as usual. There are two bishops in this Principality, one at Romania, and the other at Houche. The expenses of the Government are estimated at 7,949,606 piastres, whereof 650,000 come under the head of the army. The imports amounted in 1835 to 10,878,021 piastres; the exports in 1837 were 17,353,611; and the receipts of the Government were 8,490,956.

It has appeared desirable to throw into one section our description of the produce of Moldavia and Wallachia, as the two countries are identical in agricultural and commercial matters as well as in population and language.

Maize is much cultivated, yields plentiful crops, and never disappoints the farmer. A porridge made of this meal, called *Mammaliga*, forms the chief food of the peasantry. In these countries, as well as in Spain, the wheat, instead of being thrashed, is trodden out by horses, and deposited in barns. All fruit trees common in England abound, besides the olive and fig, melons, and other cucurbitaceous fruits. Cabbages and pumpkins are also grown in great abundance. The slopes of the hills are covered with vines, which produce wine in such abundance that a large quantity is exported into Russia and Transylvania. In the winter, much time is devoted to the manufacture of wine and the management of bees. The wine equals that of Hungary in strength and flavour. The management of bees is well understood both in Hungary and Moldavia. There is no country in Europe where hares, partridges, deer, and wild boars are found in such numbers. The peasants of the Principalities track the hares in

the snow, and during the winter months the number destroyed is estimated at half a million yearly.

The principal productions of the Principalities, after corn, are bees' wax, honey, butter, cheese, hides, timber, staves, and ships' masts of all descriptions, hare-skins, and sheep's wool. The Moldavian timber is said to be finer than the Wallachian, consisting chiefly of excellent oak. The Principalities also abound in cattle and poultry of all descriptions, and the Carpathians are said to contain gold, silver, quicksilver, iron, copper, sulphur, and coals.

An English resident, well acquainted with the nature of the country, remarks that: The natural richness, and the various resources of Wallachia and Moldavia, are such, that if those countries could enjoy the important advantages of a regular government and a wise administration, under which industry and agriculture should receive their due encouragement, the trade of exports laid open, the commercial intercourse with foreign nations set upon a proper footing, and finally, the mines explored, they would in a short time become the most populous and most flourishing provinces of Europe. The harbour of Galatz would soon stand rivalship with all the ports of the Black Sea, not excepting Odessa. Prophetic words written more than twenty years ago, and the true key to the present war.

Our author adds: The fertility of the soil is such as to procure maintenance for ten times the number of the present population, and leave wherewith to supply other countries besides; the common return of cultivation being sixteen-fold, and in more favourable seasons, twenty-five.

Since by the Treaty of Bucharest, Bessarabia ceased to be a part of Moldavia, this province only extends to the Pruth, which separates it on the eastern side from Bessarabia; the latter having been Russian territory ever since the peace in question was concluded in 1812. The Principality of Moldavia now extends nearly 200 miles, from the Danube bordering Wallachia to the borders of Galicia; and it has a breadth of about 120 miles, from the banks of the Pruth on the east, to the Carpathian mountains and Transylvania on the west. The Danube washes the south-eastern extremity of this territory for the distance of about twenty-four miles, and during this portion of its course receives the rivers Pruth and Sereth. The Pruth has a south-eastern course of about 500 miles to the Danube, from its sources in the Carpathian mountains in the circle of Stanislawow, and is navigable almost throughout the whole extent of Moldavia. The Sereth, in the upper part of its course, receives the Bistrity and the Moldava, which gives its name to the territory; and almost at its termination, the Birlat. These streams and their affluents divide almost equally, and completely water the Principality, which has an area of nearly 17,000 square miles. The country is covered in part with extensive forests, producing every kind of timber; and the remainder, which is agricultural or pastoral, is very fertile in wines, as well as in every kind of grain and vegetable. Vast numbers of horses, cattle and sheep, are grazed on its rich meadows. Rock-salt, asphaltum, saltpetre, and even gold, are found in this Principality. Yassy, the capital, is situated on the Backlei, a muddy stream, one of the affluents of the Pruth. It contains numerous churches and convents, in addition to

about 4000 houses, chiefly of wood. Owing principally to fires, the population has diminished of late years. Previous to 1827, there were about 40,000 inhabitants. Galatz, the only port of Moldavia, is situated on the Danube, between the rivers Pruth and Sereth. Having been made a free port in 1834, it has become a very important place, being the seat of imports and exports for the whole of this extensive province, as well as a depôt for Austrian merchandise passing up and down the Danube. Its trade, especially in grain, is very considerable, and the vessels coming thither from various countries are very numerous. The mixed population of Moldavians, Jews, Armenians, and Gipsies, is about half a million. Wallachia, the other Principality, belongs more particularly to the present geographical limits of Turkey, being washed by the Danube on its southern side, and again on its eastern by the bend of this river, as it flows northward to the extremity of this province, opposite to Galatz. From its eastern limits on the left bank of the Lower Danube, Wallachia extends about 276 miles to the Upper Danube and Hungary on the west, and again 127 miles northward from the left bank of the Danube to Moldavia, and nearly the same distance to Transylvania. It is abundantly watered by various rivers and streams which traverse the country from the Carpathians to the Danube. The principal of these are the Schyl, which terminates opposite to Rachova; the Aluta, which enters the Danube at Turnu; the Argisch, which ends its course opposite to Turtukai; and the Ialomnitza, which debouches at Hirsova. According to Balbi, Wallachia has an area of 21,600 square geographical miles. A broad level tract stretches northward from the Danube, that part near the river consisting of marshes and meadow pastures, which are subject to its inundations. The ground becomes hilly and more elevated as it approaches Moldavia, and the western side of the country is mountainous or hilly. Like Moldavia, this Principality is covered in places with extensive forests, but it is still richer in mineral, pastoral, and agricultural products. Iron, copper, lead, silver and gold, are found. Horses and cattle abound, and, according to Wilkinson's account of the Principalities, the number of sheep amounts to 2,500,000; while besides barley, rye, hemp, tobacco, and Indian corn, there is seldom less than 1,250,000 quarters of wheat produced annually. The principal towns are Tergovist, on the Ialomnitza, containing 5000 inhabitants; the port of Brailow; Giurgevo, a town of 3500 inhabitants; and Krajova, the capital of Little Wallachia, a thriving town of about 9000 inhabitants. Bucharest, the capital, contains about 60,000 inhabitants. Owing to the gardens within the town, it covers a very large space, and is on the whole a very fine city. Transverse logs of wood across the streets supply the place of the usual pavement. The Metropolitan Greek Church is a handsome edifice, and many of the houses of the boyards are fine buildings. The bazaars are extensive and well supplied, as might be expected in the centre of a productive and populous country. This district is supposed to contain 10,000 Gipsies, 20,000 Jews, 5000 Armenians, and only 3000 Greeks; the remainder being Wallachians, who increase the aggregate to about half a million. The inhabitants of these Principalities are a quiet, passive race, of mixed origin, but claiming descent from the Romans of the Lower Empire,

which is partly supported by the fact of their speaking a doggerel Latin. The origin of the Bohemians or Gipsies is not known, but they are, as usual, a migratory people. The rest of the Wallachians are partly so; and, their pursuits being chiefly pastoral, their huts, which are half buried in the earth, are easily changed from place to place; so that, unless there should be either a convent or a church, whole villages frequently disappear from the places marked on the maps. The tribute paid directly by these provinces to the Porte was by no means oppressive; but a heavy contribution was drawn from them indirectly in the shape of wheat, timber, and cattle, which were sent to Constantinople at fixed prices, much below the market value. This was, however, a small disadvantage compared to that of being in the van of the Turkish territory, and, consequently, the first to suffer from an invading enemy.¹

Travellers have been unanimous in extolling the beauties of this region, and they all equally lament the oppressed condition of its inhabitants. Baron de Tott compares Moldavia to Burgundy, the finest province in France. Carra says, "I have visited almost every country in Europe, and have seen none where the distribution of the plains, hills, and mountains is so admirable, both for agriculture and picturesque effect, as in Moldavia and Wallachia." Thornton describes "the scenery as grand and romantic; torrents rushing down the precipices, and winding through the valleys; the delightful fragrance of the lime-flower, and the herbs crushed by the browsing flock; the solitary hut of the shepherd, on the brow of the mountain; the mountain itself, rising far above the clouds, its whole surface covered, except in the snowy regions, with a deep bed of vegetable earth, and everywhere adorned with lofty and majestic forest trees, or with rich and lively verdure." He adds, that "all this assemblage of beauty, which once gratified my sight, still interests me in the picture which memory retains. Such, indeed, must be the feelings of every individual who has once travelled through this country. The sentiments which it excites can scarcely ever be forgotten. As to myself, the sublime intensity of the impression will never be erased from my mind." General Baur laments that this beautiful country, with so fertile a soil and so fine a climate, should be thus thinly peopled, being persuaded that it might nourish five or six times more inhabitants than it at present contains; and Carra says, that there is only one-fortieth part of the arable soil in tillage. "The famished inhabitants of Switzerland might here find a refuge without crossing the Atlantic Ocean; and I am happy to learn that the tide of emigration, even at this time, has begun to flow down the Danube from the regions of the Lake of Geneva." The fertility of Moldavia is quite inexhaustible. The white wines of the mountains are delicious; the wheat is excellent; and the season of harvest occurs as early as the month of June. But of all the sensations of delight produced by the beauties of nature, none can surpass that which is raised by the aspect of the more interior parts of this country. Romantic hills and dales, rivulets and streams, fields adorned with verdure and flowers, present themselves in a successive variety of beauty during the fine season,

¹ Col. Chesney's "War of 1828-9."

particularly within twenty or thirty miles of the Carpathians, from the Pruth to the Danube at Orsova. The inner parts of those mountains themselves offer the most magnificent scenery; and their summits, the most beautiful and extensive views. Those who have seen the romantic parts of the Alps cannot help recalling them here to their remembrance. The impressions of the moment are such, that they feel at a loss to decide which deserve the preference. Whilst the impatient courier, going over the rough roads through the Carpathians, bestows curses on the dangers that slacken his pace and impede his progress, the voluntary traveller and lover of nature stands lost in admiration, and finally quits with reluctance and regret scenes which nature has formed in her most romantic mood.

The aspect of the Carpathians is very different in winter: all the heights are covered with snow, and the narrow roads with mud and large stones, rolled in the midst of them by the torrents, so as to render them impassable; they are mostly situated on the brinks of dreadful precipices, at the bottom of which rivers or torrents have formed their passage, where one false step of the passenger is immediate death.¹

¹ On the Principalities, see "Frontier Lands of the Christian and Turk;" Captain Spencer's "Russia, Turkey, &c.;" "The Russians of the South;" Oliphant's "Russian Shores of the Black Sea," &c.

CHAPTER III.

BULGARIA AND SERVIA.

WE have next to consider Bulgaria, a region of great importance in connection with the present war, and of remarkable interest in itself.

Viewed strategically, Bulgaria presents in the first place, on the right bank of the Danube, a ring of fortified towns, commanding all the passages or fords over the river, from the Servian border to the Black Sea, of which several would have to be captured before the enemy could safely penetrate into the heart of the country. It may be objected that Diebitch marched on Adrianople, and dictated the peace of that name, before he took Schumla. But it must be remembered that Silistria and Varna had already fallen; that, nevertheless, it was a very rash step on the part of Diebitsch, who would have been lost if the Turks had not been tutored and deceived by the British Minister, and if the Russians had not been saved by a Prussian General.

The Bulgarian fortresses add greatly to the strength and security of the second line of defence. The most important of these strongholds are—Widdin, opposite Kalafat; Nikopolis, opposite Turnu; Rustchuk, opposite Giurgevo, a place fortified with the greatest care by the Turks, who have thrown up palisades and walls, and dug ditches on all sides to protect it; Turtukai, opposite Oltenitza, commanding one of the most important crossings over the Danube; Silistria, opposite Kalarasch; Matchin, opposite Braila; beside Isaktschi and Tultscha, protecting the Dobrudscha, opposite Reni and Ismail, from incursions on the side of Bessarabia.

Amongst the fortified places of secondary importance that occur along this line, it may be well to specify *Florentin*, above Widdin; Lom Palanka, Zibra Palanka, and Rahova, between Widdin and Nikopolis, commanding the passages into Little Wallachia; Sistova, between Nikopolis and Silistria; Rassoza, Hirsova, and Dojan, between the latter place and Matschin.

Bulgaria embraces Wallachia in the form of a crescent, of which the two horns are formed, first to the west, by a stretch of land running up to Florentin, between the Danube and Servia; and second, to the eastward, by a larger territory situated between the northern bend of the Danube and the Black Sea. On this side, the extremity of the horn reaches the frontier of Bessarabia.

The latter extremity of Bulgaria constitutes a peculiar territory, to which we shall revert on a future occasion, owing to its incalculable importance. Its northern portion is somewhat broader than that part where the horn unites with the remainder of Bulgaria, where it is very narrow, especially at a spot styled Trajan's Wall, where formidable fortifications were erected at the time of the Roman Empire, as well as a channel of communication uniting the Danube with the Black Sea, and running from Tschernavoda to Kustendje. It is

admitted, even by Austrian strategists, that this part of Bulgaria is of the greatest strategic importance; but they represent it as especially valuable to the invader, because the land is very flat, and the passage of the Danube easy, which greatly facilitates the advance of an invading army. These writers add, that an additional advantage is afforded in this district to the invader, by the rich and extensive pasturage that it affords, presenting an unlimited supply of forage for artillery and cavalry. The Austrian strategists admit that late in the autumn and in winter this tract of land is unhealthy, and presents almost insuperable obstacles to the advance of large bodies of troops, owing to its numerous bogs, marshes, and extensive steppes, over which the furious east wind sweeps with irresistible violence.

This important territory is called the Dobrudscha, and is represented by Austrian writers as forming the high road for armies advancing from the north to Constantinople, or on the other hand from the south to Bessarabia and Podolia. The reasons advanced for this view of the case are, that the way is the shortest, presenting the fewest obstacles, and that if the advancing army is in possession of any part, it can be easily supplied with provisions and auxiliaries or reinforcements. The Russians followed this road in their advance into Turkey in 1828-29. It is true that these German authorities add, that any invading force must be careful to capture the fortresses on the Lower Danube, such as Braila, Matschin, Hirsova, Rassova, and Silistria especially, or else a Russian army in the Dobrudscha is in danger of being completely cut off. Thus, in the last war, the Russians were obliged, even after taking Varna, to besiege and take Silistria before they could venture to cross the Balkan. As, however, Silistria seems rather difficult to take, the advantage of an advance of Russian forces in the Dobrudscha seems somewhat doubtful, especially since their fleet dare not leave the batteries of Sebastopol.

Bulgaria has a great natural bulwark to the northward in the Danube, a fine artificial line of defence in the Danubian fortresses, and a second natural line of defence in the Balkan mountains (the ancient Hœmus), extending from the Black Sea to the Adriatic Sea, in an almost straight line, and forming a natural rampart against northern invasion.

The Balkan is not so remarkable for its elevation, which rarely exceeds 10,000 feet, as for the geognostic formation of its rocks, consisting of sharp and jagged masses, rising perpendicularly to a height of 100 or 200 feet, separated by chasms and deep basins, and presenting on their summits level plateaux. This peculiar conformation presents great difficulties in the way of an advance into the heart of the mountains, so that for a space of 520 miles there are only a few passes through which you can march to their southern declivity. Nor is this all, for the chain generally, and the before-named plateaux in particular, are thickly clothed, not with a growth of lofty timber, but with a remarkably thick and impenetrable brushwood; and the passes often consist of defiles running for miles between steep precipices, or through this impervious brushwood. Besides this, the foot of the mountains is covered (except at a few clearances where villages have been built) with extensive tracts of woodland, consisting of dwarf oaks, penetrating far into the plains, and rendering all marching across

the country impracticable. Hence the obstacles of the Balkan consist rather in the nature of the ground—which has been improved by art, as at Torres Vedras, through the erection of field-works at suitable places, and might be defended long and successfully by a gallant people—than in the inaccessible elevation of the mountains.

The weakest and most accessible part of the chain lies on the direct road from Moldavia, and is called the Emineh-Dag, or Great Balkan, consisting of that part of the ridge which lies nearest the Euxine, and which has always been selected as the most eligible place for crossing the mountains by all hostile forces that have attempted to advance to Constantinople. It was by this route that Diebitsch penetrated to Adrianople in 1829.

This part of the chain is not remarkably high, the most elevated point not exceeding 6000 feet above the level of the sea. Hence it presents, within the space of fifty miles, three passes, which converge to one point to the south of the mountains. We shall present the reader with a brief description of these passes, in order to give an idea of the natural and artificial difficulties that now oppose the advance of a hostile army attempting to cross the Balkan, even by the easiest route.

The first of the three passes previously alluded to unites Varna to Bourgas and Karinabad. It leads close along the sea-shore, rises almost immediately behind Varna, in several woody paths which lead over the promontory of Galata-Bournou, and is carried across the Kamtschik, a stream of fifty paces in width, with steep banks from six to twelve feet high, by means of a bridge of boats. After leaving this river, which the Turks attempted to defend, in 1828, with field-works, it proceeds across the marshy, woody basin of the river, 5000 paces in width, and forks into two roads, leading to Aidos and Bourgas, across the eastern part of the Emineh Dag. This part of the route presents very thick forests of lofty timber, offering no cross roads or means of advance parallel to the pass, and penetrates through the deep valley of Korakdere and other smaller glens, which are very difficult to pass in wet weather.

The second pass is called Kisk-getchid, or the Forty Fords, and unites Pravady with Aidos. Two roads branch out from Pravady, through Kjöpkykoj or Jenikjoj, but they unite at the top of the mountain. On the first road you have first to pass a rocky gate, about 100 paces broad and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, entirely shut in by precipices 600 feet in height, and terminating at the river Pravadi, which can only be crossed on a pontoon bridge. A narrow and prominent ridge, stretching out in this defile, entirely commands it, and can be easily converted into a natural fortress. But even after leaving this formidable defile, you have to pass through a narrow valley, fifteen miles in length, which might be equally perilous to the foe. The road through Jenikjoj is more accessible, but steep, and easily closed by means of field-works. Even the plateau, where the two roads meet, can be easily made impregnable by fortifying it, especially as it is united with Varna by a practicable road. It was by these two roads that the Russian generals, Roth and Rüdiger, crossed the Balkan in 1829, the first advancing towards Bourgas, the second to Aidos, whence they marched on to Adrianople.

The third and the most important pass of the entire Balkan chain is that into which all the roads from Bessarabia through the Dobrudscha, besides those from the Danubian strongholds of Rassova, Silistria, Turtukay, and Rustchuk, converge, in the neighbourhood of Schumla. This pass is entirely commanded by the almost impregnable fortress of Schumla, which Diebitsch strove in vain to take. Rasgrad lies between Schumla and Rustchuk, covering the road uniting these two places.

The fourth pass, which is also of the utmost importance, and which has been celebrated since the most ancient times, is called the Demir Kapu, or the Iron Gate. This pass marks the limit of the higher Balkan, and to it converge all the roads from the Danubian strongholds between Turtukay and Sistova, leading to Constantinople. It leads from Stareka, on the north side of the Balkan, through Selimnia or Slivno, on the top of the mountains, to Jambol and Adrianople, on its southern side.

The fifth pass is situated between Dranova and Kasanlik. At the former place the two roads converge, coming from Tirnava and Lofdscha, and including all the branch-roads from the Danube between Rustchuk and Rahova. After reaching Kasanlik, the pass branches, near Eskisagra, into two roads, one of which leads eastward, and unites at Jambol with the fourth pass, previously described, and runs on with the main road from Schumla to Adrianople, whilst the other fork runs direct south, and joining the road that comes from Sophia, passes through Mustapha Pascha to Adrianople.

The sixth pass is situated between Trajan and Tatar Basardschik, runs up the course of the Osma through uninhabited, desert, woody regions, and steep hills, and can only be traversed at the expense of great fatigue and exertions.

The seventh pass is called Trajan's Gate, well known in the earliest times, and repeatedly used by nations passing through the mountains to the southward. It is of the utmost importance, as it unites virtually two passages in one—the first from the northern part of Bulgaria, on the Danube, and the second running from Sophia—*i.e.*, the south-west part of Bulgaria—to Adrianople.

The Balkan range, properly speaking, ends at this spot, forming a knot which sends out a branch-chain, called Stara Planina, to the north-west, passing into Servia to the north of Nissa, after which, melting into a number of separate hills, it gradually sinks into the plain towards the Danube. Another branch-range runs west from the knot, uniting with the mountains which begin at Berbier in Bosnia, continues thence in a southern direction, and ultimately blends with the mountains of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Greece. Between these two branch ridges is situated the south-western section of Bulgaria, with its capital Sophia, which is open to the west, on the side of Serbia, Bosnia, and Herzegowina, and has been used as a transition for armies advancing from the westward on Constantinople. Another road also diverges from Sophia to Samallow, whence it leads to the southern possessions of European Turkey. To the north is a pass, commanded by Ilflady, and combining in one all the roads from Lofdscha, Sistova, to Rahova and Zibru-Palanka.

There is, however, another and a more important channel of inter-

course between this south-west part of Bulgaria and Sistova, Lofdscha, and Widdin. It consists of a road uniting all these places directly with the Sophia and Adrianople road, and passing partly by Bergofdscha and Vratza and the ridge of the Stara Planina, and partly along the course of the River Ister. This road, offering much fewer obstructions, is naturally easier to pass.

The main road passing through Sophia leads to the west, direct through Nissa to Servia, Bosnia, Herzegowina, and Albania, and to the east, passing through Tatar Basardschik, Mustapha Pascha, and Adrianople; it ultimately reaches Constantinople.

This road is of the utmost strategic importance, because it unites all the roads, and passes from the north to the capital of the Turkish Empire, and constitutes the only approach to it, save on the sea-side.

Bulgaria forms a plain, inclining in the shape of terraces to the northward, broken by ridges in the north, furrowed by deep water-courses, with steep banks, rising in the Balkan and terminating in the Danube, covered on its summits with wood, and intersected in the plains with gardens surrounded by fences, the cultivation of which is the favourite occupation of the Bulgarians.

Numerous roads of communication intersect the country in all directions, but they are generally adapted for pedestrians and equestrians, and not for wheel conveyances; hence an advancing army would be forced to widen and improve them. For example, General Roth, in the year 1829, was obliged to reinforce his pioneer battalions with 4000 labourers, to clear the way, though he met no opposition from the enemy. The march is also greatly impeded by the very extensive tracts of brushwood, and the clayey nature of the soil, which generates a quantity of deep mud after the slightest rain. Strategically speaking, the most important roads are those uniting Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the western provinces of the empire, with the capital. Amongst these we must enumerate, first, the line passing from Bessarabia through Ismail and Reni, and proceeding through Moldavia, between Galatz, Brailow, and Matschin, through the Dobrudscha, by Karasu, Trajan's Walls, and Basardschik, leads, on the one hand, near Varna, and also by another fork through Paravedi and Schumla to the Balkan.

Now, it must be admitted that this line is nowhere immediately commanded by an important fortress, save at Varna, Schumla, and Matschin, on the Danube. Nevertheless, it would be requisite to take the larger and smaller strongholds, which, beginning at Matschin, lie along the Danube, such as Dajan, Hirsova, and especially Silistria, before the enemy could think of advancing any farther, as he would otherwise be in immediate danger of being cut off. Thus it happened, in the year 1828, that Diebitsch, even after the capture of Varna, was forced to retire, because Silistria and Rustchuk had been able to withstand all his exertions.

The second line is that which leads from Moldavia, partly through Bucharest, Giurgevo, Rustchuk, and Oltenitza Turtukay, partly through Slobodzieja and Kalarasch-Silistria. This line is still more important than the former, because it presents fewer impediments to the advance of the enemy, and gives him opportunity to avoid the almost impregnable fortress of Schumla, and to choose that pass over

the Balkan which is the least strongly fortified, or offers the fewest difficulties.

The most important points on this line are in the interior of the country, Rasgrad, Osmanbazar, Tirnava, and Lofdscha, because they form the centres or knots to several bundles or systems of roads running throughout the country. The lines situated farther to the west would be of greater importance if the enemy were to occupy Wallachia with such a large force that he could choose whichever passage over the Danube he preferred, without any danger of being cut off, or if an invading army were to descend from the west, either on the side of Austria or of the Herzegowina and Albania.

The most important points on these lines on the Danube are Sistova, Nikopoli-Turnu, Rahova, and Widdin; and in the interior, Nissa, Mustapha Pacha, Belgradschik, Melkowatz, Bergofdscha, and Wratza, because they in some measure command the most important lines.

Within a recent date, and even since the commencement of the Eastern Question, the Turks have been at infinite pains to strengthen the line of the Danube, as well as all the important posts in Bulgaria. Thus the testimony of a host of eyewitnesses represents the whole of the right, or Turkish, bank as presenting nothing but one continued wreath of fortresses and field-works, the latter consisting of three rows, or stages, furnished with guns of different calibre; and they represent the mouths of all tributary streams as especially strongly fortified. The number of guns alone along this line consists of 3000 pieces, some of very large calibre. The special subdivisions of the works are connected by one unbroken chain of mounted pickets. Nor is this all, for all the Danubian fortresses have been placed in a most formidable state, and all important posts and eminences have been fortified to the uttermost by earthen ramparts, ditches, palisades, and systematically-arranged field-works. All these works have been carried out under the superintendence of experienced French, English, and Turkish engineer-officers. Especial attention has been devoted in this respect to the strengthening of Schumla, Silistria, Turtukay, Rustchuk, and Widdin.

Besides these tremendous preparations, Nissa, Mustapha Pacha, the heights by the Porta Trajani, Sophia, and Adrianople, have had their defences improved and strengthened.

As the most extravagant nonsense commonly passes current in England respecting the Christians in Turkey, we shall say a few words on the Bulgarians, to correct disgraceful ignorance. Some popular authors do not scruple to call them a Slavonic people, whereas Gibbon, Urquhart, and any professor of history, could have taught them that they are a mixed population, chiefly of Tartar origin, and that many of them have become Mohammedans. A morning paper admits yards of inventions from its own correspondents, asserting that the Bulgarians are a wretchedly oppressed, degraded, and ill-used set of Christians, and a gallant captain almost re-echoes the same nonsense. Without seeking for refutation among the special partisans of the Osmanlis, who might be suspected of an unfair bias, we shall resort to Captain Slade, who is so fond of the Slavonians, that he wants to make a Slavish confederation in European Turkey.

Captain Slade (vol. ii. p. 96) remarks that, "The Bulgarian is handsome, robust, patient, stubborn, and very jealous, with primitive manners. The women are tall and beautiful, the finest race he saw in Turkey, with peculiarly small hands and feet. Their costume is elegant, consisting of a striped shift, which covers without concealing the bust, fastened round the throat with a heavy gold or silver clasp, a short worked petticoat, and an embroidered pelisse *a la Polonnaise*. Their hair is dressed in long braids.

No peasantry in the whole world are so well off. The lowest Bulgarian has abundance of everything,—meat, poultry, eggs, milk, rice, cheese, wine, bread, good clothing, a warm dwelling, and a horse to ride on. It is true he has no newspapers to inflame his passions, nor a knife and fork to eat with, nor a bedstead to lie on, and therefore may be considered by some people an object of pity. A pacha, at any rate, is equally unhappy. Where, then, it may be asked, is the tyranny under which the Christian subjects of the Porte are generally supposed to groan? Not among the Bulgarians certainly. I wish that in every country the traveller could pass from one end to the other, and find a good supper and a warm fire in every cottage, *as he can in European Turkey.*" * * * Slade attributes the fact to the land not being over-peopled. But, in that case, why is the condition of the Russian serf so miserable? Surely Russia is not over-peopled? He adds that, "The principal grievance of the Christian peasant in Turkey is the harratch (poll-tax). If he cannot pay it, he gets the bastinado; whereas the Mussulman is exposed to the conscription, a burden sixty times more onerous."

Slade goes on to show, that the condition of the Christians in Bulgaria is quite enviable when compared with that of the poor among us. For one poor man who loses his head in Turkey, five hundred rich men lose theirs. Yet Slade advocates a Slavonic monarchy, and the dismemberment of Turkey.

"How different," he continues, "is the practice of highly-civilized states. Elysiums for the wealthy, purgatories for the indigent; where the hungry and the naked, whose greatest crime is want, are the principal offerings at the shrine of justice. Far be it from me to deny civilization," he continues, in the same breath, "but we must confess that if Turkey represents barbarism, that state of society must have many advantages over our own."

Our space prevents us from dwelling on the history of the Bulgarians, who were the most ferocious of all the invaders of the Lower Empire, and possessed at one period a powerful monarchy in European Turkey; but it is important that the reader should bear in mind that these sadly injured and most miserable Christians are neither Greeks nor Slavonians, but a mixed race, chiefly of Tartar origin, or nearly related to the Turks.

Servia is separated from the rest of Turkey by three chains of mountains, and another chain runs through its centre. The valley of the Morava is the largest in the Principality. This stream is formed by the junction of two rivers, the Servian and the Bulgarian Morava, which, after blending their waters in one common current, flow into the Danube.

It is a difficult matter to point out the exact limits of Servia. The

Save and the Danube form a good frontier to the north. The Ternite constitutes its frontier to the south-east, as far as the vicinity of Georgewschewatz. After passing this point, the south-east frontier runs along the heights to the post of Morava. It then follows a ridge of hills to the river Morava; and, after this, it runs along a number of ridges and across numerous valleys by the upper basin of the Morava and the Drina, which form a great part of its western border.

The Servians are called Raitzen by the Hungarians and Germans; and the total population of the race amounts to 3,100,000, with 12,000 Mussulmans, of whom 8000 are Bosnians. The general religion of all the remaining Servians is the benighted Greek Church, which makes them pliant instruments in the hands of the Holy Synod of Petersburg.

In 1829, Servia contained 1900 villages, 17 towns, and 6 or 7 small boroughs of 700 or 800 inhabitants. Belgrade is reported by Mr. Boué¹ to contain 17,000 or 18,000 inhabitants; Semendria, 8000 or 9000; Vujitza Coto, 8000; Jagodin, 4000 or 5000; Schabatz, 3000; Valievo, 2000 or 2200. The population of the towns was estimated at 56,200; and if you give 843,800 to the 1900 villages, you obtain 444 people per village, of from 15 to 30, or 50 to 150 houses. This estimate is far from improbable, as the people herd together in the Principality, and are opposed to dwelling in detached houses. In this respect the Serbs, as well as all Slavonians, have always historically shown a great partiality for the practice of communism, which has been preached by the journalists of Paris.

In 1829, there were 1500 souls per square mile; but Servia is so healthy, fertile, and rich a territory, that it might easily support three millions. There are many Serbs scattered in other parts of the east of Europe. Thus, in Montenegro there are 80,000 to 100,000; there are 1,000,000 Serbs in Hungary, and 1,000,000 elsewhere, besides 900,000 in Turkish Servia; total, 3,000,000.

With regard to the political divisions of Servia, we find that it is now divided into seventeen *nalvies* or districts, and each *nalvie* is divided into *knejines*. The seventeen *nalvies* form four governments. *Polkotniks* or colonels are at the head of the latter, and *capitans* or captains of the former, both containing the civil and military administration in their hands. The *kmets* or elders are mayors appointed by the different parishes. All places are at the disposition of the Prince, who is wont, however, to listen to the wishes of his subjects in appointing to the lower grades.

Milosch, Prince of Servia, abdicated in favour of his son in 1839, and the latter having died, his brother Michel was proclaimed reigning prince.

The New Constitution was proclaimed in 1839 at Belgrade, and appoints three powers, Executive, Legislative, and Judiciary. The Executive is given to the Prince and Ministry, formed of four offices, Home, Justice, Finance, and Foreign. There is a senate of ten members, including the four ministers. The initiative of laws is lodged with the Prince, and all acts passed by the senate must have

¹ Boué *La Turquie d'Europe*, vol. i. p. 106.

his sanction. He appoints the ministers, senators, &c., but only from amongst those who are most deserving, we are told, which is the universal excuse of the friends of order. However, the multitude gapes and applauds, for success is always an evidence of rectitude with the vulgar.

The judicial power is vested in the justices of the peace, elected by the parishes, and in courts of law appointed by the government, in the twelve districts of Servia. These courts consist of one president and four counsellors. The twelve circles are styled *Okrontschia*.

The employés form eleven classes, being organized on the Russian system, and they are a curse to the country, as in Austria and Muscovy. Indeed, British travellers fresh from those regions record the pleasure they felt in exchanging the tyrannical bureaucracy of Servia for the municipal independence still felt and enjoyed in Turkey.

Each village or town in Servia chooses its *knes* or magistrate, and possesses the land of the parish. Every Serb can dispose of his property as he pleases.

This Constitution may be said to be truly honourable to the deceased Sultan, who conferred it on this tributary province whilst the Czar was breaking his oaths, and annihilating a Christian people in Poland.

The only tax imposed in Servia since 1839, is thirty francs, of which fifteen are paid twice a-year by every married man and *pere de famille*. The annual tribute to the Porte amounts to 325,000 francs, or 1,300,000 piastres, and 500,000 piastres are saved yearly. The only duty in Servia is that on salt, of which 30,000,000 of quintals are annually consumed.

Passing to the army, we find that all young Serbs above the age of twenty are liable to serve for six years. Volunteers are commonly procured; all who are liable do not serve, and those who do, seldom remain in the army more than four or five years. Their pay is five francs per month, besides mutton, bread, rice, &c. The commissioned officers receive twenty-five francs per month, and there is a rising scale of remuneration according to rank. The army consists of lancers, artillery, and infantry. The lancers have a blue uniform, with a Polish helmet. The infantry are dressed in sombre but useful gray, which does not offer such an effectual target as our gorgeous scarlet heroes. The *voinik* or militia consist of all men capable of bearing arms, forming 60,000 combatants. The regular army is composed of six companies of infantry, half a squadron of cavalry, and sixty gunners. The exercise they use is the Russian.

The Servian clergy consists of one metropolitan, three bishops, nine hundred ecclesiastics, and one hundred monks. Since the treaty of Adrianople, the Patriarch of Constantinople has only enjoyed the right of investing the Servian metropolitan and bishops named by the Sultan. The metropolitan is subject to a synod of bishops, which is undoubtedly in its turn the tool of the Holy Synod of Petersburg. Experience has shown that Muscovy has only interfered with the Patriarch of Constantinople to bring the Eastern hierarchy under its own thumb, and that the Greek priests of all ranks, throughout European Turkey and Greece, are from first to last

Russian spies and agents, presenting exemplary specimens of apostolic self-denial and truthfulness.

Into Servian history we cannot enter, though it is full of stirring episodes, and presents many specimens of Austrian perfidy. The Serbs are a rude, uncouth, but gallant race, being probably the finest specimens of the Slavonic family. But they are disgraced by the cruelty peculiar to that race; and in some of their recent wars with their Mohammedan and Hungarian neighbours, they were guilty of atrocities that are perhaps almost unparalleled save in Russian history. As regards the intelligence of their priesthood, it will suffice to state, that the horrors of the vampire superstition in the last century are associated with the Heyduc population on the borders of the Austrian and Turkish Empires, consisting of Serbs and other Slavonians.

Servia is now a hot-bed of Russian intrigue, like Berlin; and Austria has cast the Serbs into the arms of Russia by the usual perfidy and ingratitude that characterize the House of Hapsburg.

CHAPTER IV.

VOYAGE ON THE BLACK SEA.

To give a permanent value and interest to this little work, we shall present the reader with a brief epitome of a recent voyage along the European coast of the Black Sea, from the Bosphorus to Varna, together with a journey through Moldavia, from the pen of an eminent French *savant*. Our starting-point must be Therapia, on the European shore of the Bosphorus, which a British tourist describes thus:—"The situation of Therapia rivals, in sublimity, all that the mind of man can well conceive. Built on a little rocky promontory, overhanging the enchanted current of the Bosphorus, surrounded by mountains as rich and beautiful in their natural features as they are interesting from their classical associations, under a climate which, for at least nine months in the year, is perfectly delicious, what spot on earth could the Greeks have more aptly denominated '*Healing?*'"

Dropping our English friend, and joining company with M. Hommaire de Hell, we take a small open boat, run up the Bosphorus, leave the point called Fanaraki of Europe to the left, and pass the castle of Kikendereh, which commands both the Black Sea and the Straits. Large masses of chaotically-piled trachyte rocks stand forth in the water along this part of the coast, presenting a formidable appearance to the mariner as the sparkling foam of the Black Sea dashes against them. This was probably the occasion of the name Pontos Axeinos (inhospitable), given it by the Argonauts, and afterwards changed to Euxine.

This bleak and chaotic coast offers a striking and picturesque contrast to the beauties of the Golden Horn. The only living things

you descry, are some curlews and *âmes damnées*, which build their nests in the rocks, and scud over the water with extreme swiftness.

The trachyte rocks now and then break into little valleys of a peaceful and verdant aspect; and our party was tempted to make its first stoppage at one of these glens. The boat was drawn up on shore, and the *savant*, with a friend, wandered about in search of geological specimens, enjoying a fine view of the sea and coast of Anatolia. Recalled to the boat by a horn, they continued their voyage.

The first important bay that they passed was *Voussounia*; farther on stretched the valley of Spartiveh, formed of volcanic rocks, beyond which lay the bay of Kilia, which can shelter small coasters in stormy weather.

The sun was setting as they passed the Cape and the little fort of Kilia, and their Argonauts began to plan the important question of a bivouac. Whilst arrangements were making, M. Laurens plied his paint-brush, and M. Hommaire his hammer.

They slept under the open sky, extended on greatcoats and carpets, coaxed to slumber by the melodious murmur of the waves.

A formidable cannon-shot, or *top*, as the Turks so aptly describe it, fired by the fort, awoke them, and the rising sun displayed a grand prospect. The bay of Kilia is completely exposed to the northern blasts, and is seldom if ever safe. A dilapidated mole, 150 yards long, joined to a little fort built of trachyte, gives it an air of some importance in the eyes of coasters and fishermen.

After a few unsuccessful attempts at departure, our Argonauts were forced by the gale to draw up their boat again, with its gay tricolour flag. Their crew consisted of Captain Janko and three sailors; Stevri, an old sea-dog, fisherman, pirate, or anything you like; Stamachi, a broken down ship-builder; and Yani. These men were the cream of Greek rayas, exceeding even the usual amount of thievishness, dishonesty, and cowardice, for which their compatriots are conspicuous. There was also a certain Joseph, formerly a *figurant* of the Boulevards at Paris, who acted as cook and dragoman; M. Hommaire, our hero, and an artist, M. Laurens.

Their boat was a fisher's caik, without deck, and heavily laden with scientific instruments, and with the "loaves and fishes."

It was a serious business, at that late season (October), to dare the horrors of the Euxine in so frail a bark. But the anxious wish to explore the coast outweighed all apprehensions of risk. This mode of voyaging was also attended with an indescribable charm and feeling of independence. The movement of the clouds, the freshening breeze, the flight of birds, became so many auguries of good or evil. Your entire separation from the world and communing with Nature, her boundless cliffs and roaring main beget a feeling of pride, mingled with a thousand peculiar emotions. You seem initiated into the secrets of creation. You surprise nature *en deshabille*. The breakers, volcanic strata, strange shells, and chaotic nature, are a book that reveal to you the history of our planet. All the faculties of the imagination are awakened, on such an occasion, by a constant succession of contrasts, and the mind is absorbed in boundless contemplation. Sometimes these intellectual delights are troubled by the great anxiety of your physical position. The calm and charm

of nature is easily broken by the whistling of the tempest, and this foreboding of dangers keeps the mind constantly on the alert.

During the nights at *Kilia*, they kept guard and a great fire as a precaution. In the course of a long walk, one morning, they met, near *Voussounia*, a crowd of Bulgarians and Greeks, gravely occupied in casting their nets into the sea. Their curiosity was so excited by the arrival of the strangers, that they lost some little fish in drawing the nets. The scene was eminently picturesque, but noisy. They shortly loaded their nets in a boat adorned with gaudy Byzantine sculpture, and pulled out to sea.

They were almost exclusively Bulgarians, an agricultural and maritime population, very similar to the Bretons in France, and who monopolize the fishery near the Bosphorus. The *palamède*, a delicious sort of little tunny, is the chief victim of their industry.

Throughout the course of the Bosphorus, from *Scutari* to the *Fanarakis*, you may also see Bulgarian fishermen lashed to an indescribable kind of perch by rags, old ropes, &c. They remain here immovable, like a bird of prey, descrying every movement of their victims in the waters under the earth. A rampart of nets, ranged all round, falls at the slightest sign of this watch, into the water. Sometimes you see these bold Bulgarians hanging on in some fabulous manner to a mere pole stuck in the water.

The commandant of the fort of *Kilia* having informed the *Argonauts* that this fishing population was not very scrupulous, offered a watch, who kept guard during the night.

During another stroll, they came on a little stream, flowing through some very fine and brilliant sand, which is held sacred by the Greeks, who bury themselves in it, stark naked, during two hours, exposed to the sun, thinking it a certain cure for ague. This might be a valuable substitute for the water-cure, and a hint to our most efficient medical staff.

The houses of *Kilia* rise in stairs from the Cape, and have more of a Western than an Eastern aspect. Their ground-floor is made of unhewn stones in mortar, and the upper storey of wood. The only things Oriental in this region are the customs of the inhabitants. They found the café of *Kilia* an interesting spot. The calm and dignified repose of its atmosphere, the elegance of the rude utensils, and the innocence of the mocha sipped by the half-barbarous soldiers and fishermen, offered an interesting contrast to our vulgar and brawling ale-house tipplers.

At length they became impatient of their detention, and when the wind fell, they put to sea. They started, hoping to reach *Dormous Dereh* (the valley of pigs), which is inaccessible in rough weather. On the point of arriving, the tempest assailed them again.

The waves, lashed into fury, covered the boat with foam. They were obliged to steer for *Kara Bournou* (Black Cape) the only accessible place of embarkation. The sailors, unable to handle sail or oars, began to invoke the *Panaghia* in their distress; one of them fell on his knees, bidding adieu to his family at *Buyuk Dereh*, with such eloquence that the others were melted to tears. At intervals, Captain *Yanki* seized an oar to encourage the rowers, and *M. Hommaire* took his place at the helm, beginning to feel rather doubtful of the issue. *M.*

Laurens was almost unconscious, lying dreadfully sea-sick at the bottom of the boat. This terrible situation had lasted some hours, when they heard a noise like a salvo of artillery, and saw close at hand an immense black mass, which was the famous Kara Bournou. The sinister renown of the spot, the darkness and deafening noise, made an impression that could never be effaced. They cleared the Cape, stunned, buffeted, and weather-beaten, and suddenly, as though by magic, they were in a pretty little bay, lit up by the moon, which shone through a rent in the clouds. Their peril had been imminent!

Some charcoal boats were already in the port, and their crews running up and seeing the French flag, exclaimed: "Francis! No others would be rash enough to face such a tempest! Allah! they are our friends and guests!"

These good people helped them to land, and they found the plateau of Kara Bournou furnished with bad batteries, and a garrison of sixty Turks. In 1828, the Russians sent a shower of balls on the village. The batteries are, or were lately, entirely without powder, so that the men cannot even fire salutes.

Our travellers remained a fortnight at Kara Bournou, detained, as at Kilia, by the tempestuous state of the weather. This delay gave them the opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with the neighbouring country, where they found many interesting remains of antiquity, of which we can only give a brief outline.

Finding it necessary to stay some time on the spot, they pitched their tent to secure them against storms and Greeks. To the right were large masses of limestone, full of fossils, and the summit of the hill was crowned with a village and several windmills. To the left, towards the sea, were chalk-cliffs, with a kind of cataract of plants pouring over them.

A coffee-house stands on the Cape, kept by a veteran gunner, Ali Tchaous, a perfect type of Turkish good-nature and dignity. His benches are used as couches by the first comer, who is not bound to consume anything on the premises. Constantly visited by the people of Kara Bournou, he seems the good genius of the place.

A number of small capes succeed Kara Bournou to the westward, separated by narrow strips of sand. Most of the population are fishermen. The anchorage is so contracted, that it scarcely offers room for a few coasters.

MM. Laurens and Hommaire visited some ruined walls of the Lower Empire by a lagoon or liman, affording excellent pasturage for some splendid buffaloes. As they found no inscriptions, or other relics, they would have regretted their excursion, had it not led them to a beautiful district. Meadows, cultivated fields, numerous flocks, little cottages, and verdant thickets, presented such a contrast to the bleak coast, that they were quite delighted. They were about to return by the other side of the lake, when they suddenly lighted on some much more considerable ruins.

A wall, 700 feet long, with three square towers, a cistern, the remains of some religious edifice, all covered with an almost tropical vegetation, gave an indescribable poetry to the locality. Thickets of rose-laurels also covered the whole plateau, and two slopes of the

ruins. It is difficult to determine their age, but it is probable that they are Byzantine, and that they were built as a refuge when Stamboul was occupied by the Turks.

A village, situated on the upper end of the lake, and called *Tergos-Kallessy*, has been entirely built from these ruins. Its inhabitants style the ruins and lake *Potam*.

The dismal scenery and sky at the Cape had rather a depressing influence on our travellers, who continued to scour the country. On another trip, they met some Bulgarian shepherds leading immense flocks of sheep and goats to Constantinople. Armed to their teeth, and clothed in skins from head to foot, they looked rather like bandits than peaceful Arcadians.

One day the whole population went to a fountain, whose water is said to have miraculous properties. It was the anniversary of the beheading of St. John. Crowds of fishermen, sailors, women and children, went up in file to kiss an image of the saint, held by a pope, and to pay a slight sum, after which they ventured to drink of the holy stream; and, having performed this grave operation, they went to kneel before another statue. A large meadow was used as an arena for their rustic sports, and the picture was completed by a circle of buffalo carts, which gave it quite a pagan character.

Some miles from Kara Bournou, M. Hommaire discovered some other ruins, called, in Greek, *Palæo Pyrgos*, and in Turkish, *Eski-Pourgas*. They are finely situate at the entrance of the road from Adrianople through Silivry, and they command a rich, undulating country.

In a valley near them, called *Kalamitch*, is a Greek village of fifty houses, surrounded with meadows and cultivation. The inhabitants are exclusively engaged in making charcoal and rearing cattle. The charcoal is sold at eight piastres (10d.) the hundred okes (300 lbs.)

They at length quitted Kara Bournou, and, sailing along, they saw thousands of vultures soaring over the sea, or perched on the rocks, whilst thousands of medusæ were floating, like fabulous flowers, spread out in the water. The evening was calm, the horizon splendid, all harmonious and graceful. Leaving an enchanting valley, styled *Armen-Dereh*, the coast has a more imposing character; the hills become mountains, the dells defiles, the coves large bays. Immense masses of gneiss tower over the head of the traveller, after doubling one of which, an immense rock, named *Machacah*, our party reached *Midiah*.

All these rocks are covered under water with a little shell, which is a pointed limpet.

Midiah stands on a vast plateau facing the sea to the east, breaking into limestone cliffs, at whose base runs a river, forming a little port, with a bar at its mouth. The plateau is bordered by two rivers, running through most delicious valleys. It is rare to meet such calm, verdant, and graceful scenery as that of the northern valley, through which flows a stream with limpid water, reflecting masses of verdure and numerous flocks. On both hands rise little hills, presenting a harmonious blending of bushes, rocks, and grasses. Beyond these the ground rises gradually, showing a range of hills covered with forests;

and in the horizon appears the imposing chain of the Balkan, known in antiquity as the Hœmus.

To the east, between the valleys, and by the slopes of the northern valley, are numerous traces of the ancient walls, which are in the Byzantine style, consisting half of masonry and half of rubble-work. M. Hommaire thinks them of more ancient date than the Lower Empire. The neighbourhood of Midiah offers also some singular and mysterious crypts, which were carefully examined for several days by our travellers by torchlight. They found a vestibule, a piscina or chapel, a temple, with a nave, sanctuary, portico, pilasters and sculpture, and numerous excavations, cells, and a subterranean hall, full of tombs of all sizes. The rock in which they are worked is calcareous, and of a very fine grain. Time and earthquakes have somewhat injured and defaced their monuments, but the rock is still fresh and white. It appears to have been overlooked and uninjured by man.

The population of Midiah consists of about 500 Greeks, and about 30 Turks, whose little mosque is outside the gates. Large ships cannot anchor at Midiah on account of the shallowness of the water. The upper part of the town communicates with the port by means of a tunnel-staircase. The Greeks assert that there was an immense reservoir and magazine of provisions at the foot of this tunnel, which, being discovered by the Turks, led to the capture of the town. Another tradition speaks of a Muscovite invasion much earlier than that of the Turks. It would be a curious fact, if the remembrance of the ravages wrought in the eighth or ninth century by the Muscovites had been retained at Midiah till this day. One thing is clear from the quantity and nature of the ruins, namely, that the town must have been formerly very important.

The only café of Midiah is kept by a pope, whose habitual occupation is that of mending nets and playing at trictrac. The Greek clergy is on a par with the Russian, exhibiting the same ignorance, the same stupidity, and the same filth.

The first station beyond Midiah is Iniada, whose gulf is one of the safest on the coast. Turkish ships put in there to take in the *matériel* of artillery yielded by the cannon-foundries of Saint Makof, a few leagues in the interior. There is a quarantine at Iniada; and its head official, Achmet, was not very enlightened, though he insisted on doing honour to M. Laurens by making him sleep in a room with twelve lighted candles, whose glare and disgusting smell drove away all sleep. M. Hommaire went to sleep in the boat, and found himself, on waking, all afloat, and making steadily out to sea, as his moorings had given way. He seems, however, to have soon brought his boat back again.

Immediately after leaving *Iniada* you reach *Acteboli*, a Greek town, with 500 houses. Its inhabitants are exclusively fishermen. It has been previously stated that the great fishing season in the Black Sea is September, when the number of mackerel and palamèdes that are captured is quite fabulous.

A vast enclosure of ruined walls occurs again at this place, offering fragments of porphyry, the architecture being Byzantine. These are probably the remains of Agathopolis.

The present town consists of dilapidated houses, and narrow, dirty streets. The women seem very industrious, being engaged in bleaching linen, and weaving stuffs for household apparel. They all wear dark-red gowns. Their head-dress is a handkerchief knotted under the chin, and you see crowds of them round a well near the sea.

From the plateau on which Acteboli stands, you have a splendid panorama to the northward. To the left rises a high cone, called *Babia*, whose slopes are intersected by a bay. The chain rises and falls again, forming the southern points of Bourgas. Lastly, a third line appears in the horizon, having at its extremity the celebrated Cape Emona (the highest point in this district), and forming the termination of the Hœmus.

A large admixture of Bulgarians is met with among the Greek population of the coast. This is especially the case at *Wassilikos*. In the only coffee-house of this little town, our travellers observed a number of lithographs representing victories of the Russians over the Turks. It must be admitted that the Turks show no common good-nature in suffering these memorials of their disasters in their own territory. All the Greek cafés at Constantinople also display a complete series of plates, representing the scenes of the Greek War of Independence. This does not, however, prevent the Turks from frequenting them, to smoke their tchibouk and make their kief.

As you approach Sizopoli you see the Isle of St. John to the right, with the ruins of an ancient Greek church. Farther on is the Isle of Christ, where you anchor in front of the beach.

Our travellers saw more comfort at Sizopoli than anywhere else on the coast. The country appeared extremely fertile, consisting of magnificent wooded hills and plains, numerous Bulgarian villages, and immense fields of wheat and maize. The town contained three hundred and fifty houses. Its port is constantly filled with vessels, taking in cargoes for Constantinople or foreign countries. The exports of wheat alone are very considerable, this article costing, on the spot, 22 piastres per 45 okes, and its quality is excellent.

Scarcely a vestige of antiquity remains at Sizopoli, which is supplied with water by a single spring in a woody hill. The streets are almost rendered gay by numerous shops and cafés, filled with Greeks and Bulgarians, and by women in red petticoats, with regular and classical features.

After leaving Sizopoli, the coast offers a marvellous picture of agricultural wealth. Numerous Bulgarian farms dot the hills, which are covered with fruit-trees, and descend in gentle slopes to the sea. The only alarm they experienced in this part of the voyage was at a spot where they had landed to bivouac, but observing suspicious movements in the neighbouring thickets, they put out to sea, and wisely, for they learned the next day that the vicinity had been infested the whole night by people of very evil mien.

Before entering *Bourgas* they visited the Greek convent of St. Anastasius, a picturesque dilapidated building on an islet. It is inhabited by one Greek monk, a real hermit.

They detected, long before reaching it, a leaning minaret, almost emerging from the water. This spot is the rendezvous of a great many Turks, who go there to sun themselves without heeding the

imminent catastrophe of the tower. Russian diplomatists, British ministers, and the "Times," would trace an ingenious analogy between this circumstance and the present position of the Turkish Empire.

Bourgas is one of the most flourishing spots on the coast, thanks to two Genoese captains, who founded the commercial prosperity of the town about eight years ago. Before that period no merchant knew of this place, even by name. The successful enterprises of the Genoese were emulated by others. Matters progressed so rapidly, that several Constantinopolitan merchants established agencies at Bourgas in 1842. In 1845, 109 freights made a weight of 2,640,000 lbs. avoirdupois, of corn. Most of those cargoes are forwarded to Europe, which naturally excites the just wrath and jealousy of Muscovy, who wants to monopolize the privilege of starving or feeding us at discretion. The quality of the corn has improved latterly, though still inferior to that of Galatz and Odessa. But agriculture is so rapidly progressing among the Bulgarians, that there is reason to hope theirs will soon be equal to any corn.

The population of Bourgas amounts to 2500 souls, and it increases rapidly every year.

The port of Tchingheme-Iskelesi is indisputably the best harbour on the whole west coast of the Euxine. It faces Bourgas. Ships can enter it and anchor near the shore in all winds, and it is a harbour of refuge for vessels surprised by squalls, so frequent in the Black Sea.

The roads about Bourgas are filled with carts, drawn by splendid buffaloes, and laden with the produce of the harvest.

The town presents a picture of pleasing animation. The streets are filled with sailors, brokers, and beasts of burden. The houses are run up at random, and without symmetry. Ankialou is the capital of this district, and the residence of a Turkish agha and of a *cadi*. This town has 500 Greek and about 30 Turkish houses, besides a few remains of antiquity. The modern town has evidently been erected on the site of the ancient, and numerous tunnels occur in its vicinity.

A director of quarantine and other authorities, residing at Ankialou, gives it an aristocratic character; nor do the women run away at the sight of a stranger. Agriculture and salt-works are the chief resources of this town, where no fishing is carried on, though fish abound on the coast. The aristocratic character of Ankialou presents a singular contrast to the bustle and turbulence of Bourgas.

After partaking of a genuine Turkish repast at the Director's, without plates or spoons, and sitting cross-legged, they were shown a peculiar mode of fishing by candle-light, which dazzles the victims, and makes them an easy prey.

The next place is Messemvria, a picturesque town, with numerous ruins of Greek churches, &c. Two of them present the most bizarre and original appearance, offering specimens of all styles of architecture, the Lower Empire, Byzantine, Armenian, Persian, and Saracen. Yet its aspect is far from Oriental.

The Eastern Balkan runs down to the sea at Messemvria, forming undulating hills, covered with wood, without valleys or streams.

Cape Emona looks as desolate as Kara Bournou, presenting walls of slate, rent and thrown about by volcanic action. A convent crowns this stormy cape, the symbol of peace in strife.

This part of the coast was found strewed with numerous fragments of wrecks. Whilst sleeping in this lonely spot, they were roused in the night by a lively ringing of bells; and a number of large fantastic shadows were seen flitting about their fire. It was a herd of buffaloes.

From Cape Emona to Varna the coast presents low, woody hills, intersected with valleys and well cultivated plains. The Bulgarian villages increase in number, and all things announce your approach to an important town.

CHAPTER V.

VOYAGE ON THE BLACK SEA, &c.

THE appearance of Varna does not justify its claim to be the capital of a province. It is actually nothing but a large dirty village, without any remarkable mosques or monuments.

It is the residence of a Pacha, and is regarded as a focus of the old janissary spirit. When that famous body was destroyed, numerous fugitives fled to Varna and infused a spirit of resistance to reform among its population. The chief evidence of this spirit is the reluctance of the public functionaries to wear the Frank costume.

The external fortifications encircling the town embrace a development of above 4000 yards. They consist of an enclosure with bastions, and a ditch covered with walls three yards and a half in depth, and fourteen paces wide. Some little forts communicate with the enclosure. The system of its fortifications, which was planned by a Russian engineer, is essentially defective. The arsenal and the powder magazine, in the centre of the town, would be an excellent target for the enemy's balls, owing to their carefully whitewashed masses.

The Russians are said to have fired such a prodigious number of balls into this unhappy town, that the ground is full of them. Immense magazines were stored with them afterwards, and many of the citizens thought of rebuilding their houses with them.

The population of Varna is half Bulgarian, half Turk, and is thought by M. Hell to amount to 6000; others make it 20,000. The Bulgarians are an industrious and a peaceful race of husbandmen. Every stranger is received and treated hospitably in their cottages. But the appearance of the Bulgarian shepherds is savage, and almost revolting. Dressed from head to foot in sheep-skins, and their faces covered with hemp-coloured hair, and armed with iron-headed staves, which they can throw with dangerous dexterity, they look like the natural enemies of all civilization and all government.

It would require 100,000 men now to defend the fortifications of Varna, as they have been rebuilt by a Russian engineer since 1828.

We have already stated that they are 4000 yards in circumference. No less than two months were required by the Russians to reduce this unhappy town, which after all was surrendered by the treachery of its Pacha. The port was in a sad plight when M. Hell was there. A mole that was proposed by a Russian engineer, who estimated its cost at 80,000 piastres, would not cost more in reality than 12,000 or 15,000. It would be essential to connect the port with the lake situated near Varna.

A most remarkable commercial movement has latterly taken place on the coast of Bulgaria. Mersemvria, Bourgas, Varna, and Baltschik have become, within five years, the centre of a considerable export trade, consisting of cereals, wool, cotton, tallow, &c.; but the position and agricultural character of the population of Varna, naturally convert it into the chief emporium. It appears that the distrustful peasantry bury annually 30,000,000 piastres in the ground. The Turks only pay a tithe of the produce as tax. The rayas pay beside this, according to their means, 30 to 60 paras per head. Articles of local consumption pay up to the present time 32 per cent., but it is said that this duty is to be abolished. The first European commercial house was founded at Varna in 1842 by M. Olive.

Our Argonauts finding the weather too rough to proceed by sea, settled their accounts with the Greek mariners, and started from Varna on the 6th of October, with horses and an araba, under the guidance of a government cavach and of an arabadji, two genuine old janissaries. The road ascended high hills to the north, the southern slope being covered with rich vines, and five hours' journey over the table-land at the top brought them to a Turkish village at the bottom of a dismal valley. Charming groups of girls, in light and negligent attire, were ornamenting the approaches to a fountain. The appearance of the travellers excited their curiosity so much that they forgot their habitual reserve and their veils, and displayed their charms for some minutes.

Achmet, the cavach, preceded them to prepare the way at each station, a system that greatly accelerated their advance.

They arrived the next day at Baltschik, the second scala on the coast. The weather was scorching when they entered this town, whose 250 houses rise gracefully up the first declivity of a steep chalky range of hills. The anchorage is quite sheltered from north winds. It is only exposed to the west, and the wind is never violent on that side. It is no uncommon thing for 300 vessels to seek refuge there in stormy weather. If good roads were made, no limit could be placed to this port as an emporium of trade.

The present roads are mere sloughs; and on market-days, files of carts flounder through them, extending 1000 yards. On these occasions you have a delightful confusion of picturesque costumes, of animals, and scenes. The Bulgarian costume, though sober and rustic in its cut, is remarkable for a profusion of embroidery and colours, always in an original and correct taste. The women's and children's dress is especially distinguished by a complication of antique ornaments.

The buffaloes are still more monstrous than at Bourgas, and covered with dried mud, sleeping in the sun, they look like antediluvian animals.

Between Baltschik and Kavarna you have nothing but vast and sterile plains, a foretaste of the steppes of Bessarabia, every picturesque feature disappearing as you approach Russia. A burning sun darts down its rays on these monotonous plains, in which you scarcely detect a bush or a mound to diversify their uniformity.

Kavarna, situated on the two slopes of a ravine opening into the sea, one-fourth of a league lower down, was formerly a splendid and flourishing town with a thousand houses. It was utterly demolished by the Russians in 1828. The ravages occasioned by that fatal and unholy war are a deplorable sight, and, like the present, call loudly to Heaven for justice on the Russian Government, or on some other persons. They remind us of those ancient Dukes of Muscovy who, descending the Dnieper, used to invade and lay waste these same countries, *before* they were Turkish, planting their battle-axe in the gate of Constantinople. Our humane French traveller can scarcely credit that such a barbarous system of warfare should be still in force in Christendom! Primitive barbarism can alone justify the destruction of defenceless towns and villages. If M. Hell had lived to hear of Sinope, he might have altered his opinion about civilization and primitive barbarism.

Kavarna consists at present of 200 miserable houses, equally divided amongst a Turkish and Bulgarian population. They are surrounded by ruins, covered with verdure, occasioned by an abundance of springs. The anchorage is good for large vessels, and our fleets, in the spring of 1854, seemed so fascinated by its delights, as to be unable to face the foe.

Our travellers were received and feasted with Turkish hospitality by the Aga, and were delighted with the delicacy of Turkish cookery.

Their host's Bulgarian shepherd wore a pipe in his waist, an object of great veneration with that people, who adorn them with copper decorations, and carve them in sundry eccentric forms. They are very unwilling to part with them, as they believe that their possessors can practise witchcraft upon their original owner.

As they approached the Russian borders, the travellers found the desolation of the vast plains to increase. A curse seems attached to that vast Empire, and all that approaches it. Black mud huts replace the smiling wood cottages of Turkey, and everything announces the severity of nature, and more sedentary habits. The impression produced by the scenery is invincible melancholy. You find here even the kirbitch (dried cow's dung), so common in Russia, and used also by the Bulgarians as fuel.

M. Hell made a slight deviation to visit a Genoese fortress, called Kalagriah, built in a commanding position on a cape consisting of inaccessible cliffs. They found a central citadel or keep, circuits of loopholed walls, remains of Turkish baths dug in the rock, *basso-relievos*, and emblems of the Lower Empire. M. Laurens was nearly killed during this excursion by the antics of a vicious horse, whilst riding along a narrow and steep path on the verge of the precipice.

Nearly on a level with the sea are the remains of a fine lighthouse, bearing the date of the Hegira 1182. Its name is Schebler, and it is built there as a precaution against three dangerous shoals off the

coast. The interior is ruined, but it might be easily restored, and it would be of essential service to mariners.

In this neighbourhood the coast begins to present the low alluvial lands running all the way to the Danube. They scarcely attain an elevation of ten to fifteen yards. After travelling seven hours they reached Mangalia, a heap of ruins, another specimen of the blessings conferred by the Russians on their neighbours. There are numerous remains of antiquity at this place, consisting of part of a mole under water, old walls, truncated columns and pedestals, tumuli, &c.

Numerous little salt lakes dotted the neighbourhood, but they seem to disappear daily. There are also many sand-hills, or *dunes*.

This was one of the most interesting points of their journey. Custendjeh (the ancient Tomi) was the place of banishment where Ovid wrote his *Tristia*; it is also a place of interest from its own history, of which the importance is attested by the numerous ruins scattered about. The present village consists of fifty scattered hovels, and two or three windmills!

The cape rises only twenty-five yards above the sea; its point runs east, and forks into two branches, north and south. The Austrian Steam Navigation Company wanted at first to make it a principal station for the Danube and Black Sea. The idea was not bad, as it might become an important port. The numerous valuable remains of Tomi show its importance in ancient times, especially under the Romans. This spot lay on the passage of those barbarians who issued from Asia to inundate the West. In all ages this place appears to have been strongly fortified. The Russians have come six times and finished the destruction commenced by former barbarians.

The lines of Trajan are the most important question connected with Custendjeh. M. Hell bestowed every care to trace the works by which the Romans sought to defend the Delta, and to bar the advance of the barbarians into Europe, from Tchernavoda to Custendjeh. These prodigious works begin at the point of the cape on which Tomi was built. They were another wall of China, and they ought to be reconstructed; but this will not be done through the influence of British diplomacy. From the two sides of the peninsula two broad ditches, distant about 800 yards from each other, run to the westward towards the Danube. The southern ditch was defended by a thick wall, whereof the freestone materials lie scattered about, showing a length of one yard and a half on each side. It would be difficult to ascertain the thickness of this wall, as the foundations are entirely overgrown with rank vegetation. The ditch was about six to eight yards deep. The northern ditch is less important, and consists properly of two, with an interval of twenty-seven feet. Numerous elegantly ornamented antique fragments are everywhere scattered about. Some distance from Custendjeh the two lines of ditches branch off and let off a third, running south-west. Every twenty minutes' walk are the remains of intrenched camps; and on seeing them, the fancy recalls the great events that accompanied the fall of the Roman Empire. Vast hosts have passed over this spot, bloody battles have been fought here, to arrest the march of barbarians, impelled by a resistless destiny.

But on viewing these stupendous works on the extremity of the Roman Empire, we are astonished at the vast material power of that universal monarchy! At Boudjiak, half way to the Danube, all the lines of defence are centred into one, and the hills are covered with the traces of intrenched camps.

After travelling five hours from Custendjeh, our friends reached a wretched village, peopled with flies, and without provisions. Its Tartar inhabitants are the remains of the famous horde of Boudjiak, in the Crimea. They now occupy fifty villages, and their population amounts to 2000. Their Mogul type is strongly pronounced, but they are a most gentle and hospitable race, though so miserably poor.

The Austrian Government wished to run a canal from the Danube to the sea, by the lines of Trajan. M. Hell does not think the plan a good one, though there is a chain of salt lakes on the line. The plateau to be dug through to Custendjeh is from 8000 to 10,000 yards long, and its height of 30 yards is too great for the purpose, especially as you probably soon come upon the rock. He is of opinion that a railroad would answer much better, and it would almost destroy the value of the Russian or Sulina Mouth. As British and Russian diplomacy are determined to conclude a disastrous peace, and to shut up the Danube again, this plan deserves serious consideration.

The banks of the Danube, viewed from the heights above Tschernavoda, present a splendid spectacle. You have the calm and majestic scenery peculiar to all great water-courses in northern countries. Tschernavoda is a poor village of only fifteen or twenty houses; and they could get no boat there to cross to Galatz. On the opposite banks the Russian huts were visible, forming posts to watch the Moldo-Wallachians. A wild-looking shepherd and his flock were the only living things they saw to give animation to the solitudes of the Danube.

The road presents a desolate uniformity as far as Matchin, crossing steppes in which the only shrubs are briars and reeds. Near Matchin, you see a few cattle and some maize-fields; but it is a wretched place, scarcely offering a miserable hut and some coarse provisions for the night.

The next day they were hospitably received in a Moldavian house, beautifully situated on a hill commanding the basin of the Danube. To the left they saw the broken peninsular chain of Bulgaria, presenting a picturesque appearance. They had excellent cheer at this pleasant abode. But their repast was disturbed by a priest dragging by the hair a pretty woman, his wife, whom he had caught talking with a young peasant. The scene was dramatic: the poor woman was screaming, the brutal husband beating her like a good English Benedict, and the peasant looking on quite impassible. M. Hell interfered, and put an end to the husband's blows and reproaches. He went to drown his cares in some glasses of brandy, whilst his wife was hurried away to a neighbour's. Such a scene, though common in England and Christendom, would be impossible in moral Turkey.

Moldavian villages are numerous on the Bulgarian side of the Danube, probably because the people prefer the mildness of Turkish sway to the oppression of Greeks and Russians. There is a great mixture of races hereabout. You meet Jews, Cossacks, Russians, and

Moldavians, attracted by the commercial development of Matchin, according to M. Hell. The streets of Matchin are rendered lively by numerous shops, and by the gay songs of Greek sailors. As you descend to Ibraila and Galatz, the river becomes broader, and is everywhere very animated. You see boats, vessels, and rafts like those in the Rhine. High cliffs tower above the water on the Wallachian bank.

They had to undergo the blessings and the mockery of quarantine at Galatz on the 17th October. Their only comforts were an earthen vessel and two straw mattresses.

The Russian quarantine of Galatz is famous for its extreme severity throughout the Levant. Its advantages and blessings have been duly appreciated by the Russian Government.

Before proceeding to Galatz and Yassy, M. Hommaire makes a few general observations on the countries he had just traversed. He remarks that this region falls into three distinct regions, the first extending between the Bosphorus and the Gulf of Bourgas. The coast of this district is inaccessible, and its hilly interior is little favourable to agriculture; hence it cannot be anticipated that it will ever yield much, save fuel.

The second district, between Bourgas and the promontory of Kalagriah, presents, on the other hand, a high degree of interest. To the north, as well as south of the eastern branch of the Balkan, extend a series of low bottoms, or basins, admirably adapted for agriculture, and having the best ports on the west coast of the Euxine. Accordingly, this district has shown great progress since the reforms established agricultural equality, and the abolition of monopolies. Poor villages have grown into important ports; and Bourgas, Baltschik, Messemvria, and Ankialou, places hitherto unknown, have suddenly risen to commercial celebrity.

Two ships' captains took in cargoes of wheat at Bourgas in 1841. Four years later, the same town exported 350,000 loads of corn to Marseilles, Varna exported 650,000, and Baltschik 250,000. It only required a little security in trade to give a great impulse to population and the commercial movement of these places. It is proper to remark here, that the Turks are as industrious as the Bulgarians. Notwithstanding statistical, and diplomatic, and newspaper misrepresentations, they form a full third of the labourers in Bulgaria. Most of the brokers and agents between the growers and merchants are Turks. M. Hommaire considers this a good augury for the future, and the sign of a salutary reform in the Mussulman population. They are no longer what they have been called, *passing conquerors encamped in Europe*. Their position among the conquered races is no longer abnormal. No arguments can resist this vigorous Turkish population tilling the soil, removing the produce fifty leagues, and hurrying to take advantage of the new openings offering to it.

Lastly, the third region more intimately connected with the basin of the Danube presents such astounding agricultural and commercial advantages to the Ottoman Empire, that it is almost superfluous to point out the important part it is soon destined to play.

At Galatz, the appearance of the shops and of the inhabitants recalls the East; but the style of the plastered brick churches, taking the

place of the mosques, the great mixture of a hideous Jewish population, and the droschkies, &c., show the introduction of a new and Russian element.

The quay on the Danube, the object of so many studies for more than ten years, has remained up to the present time in the same neglected state. A brick wall, surmounted with planks, has replaced the old enclosure of the quarantine quay. Holes have been made in this wall on purpose, through which the corn received on the other side is received by the sailors, and shipped at once by the help of pulleys. The road has been so enlarged, that even in summer this direct system of loading is practicable. No language can do justice to the cheating practised in trade at Galatz. False measures are used publicly, without public opinion being shocked by this impudence. The chief cause of this corruption is traced by M. Hommaire to the want of principle in foreigners, and to the protection that they obtain from their consuls and the old capitulations, securing impunity to all kinds of delinquencies. We should add, that the vicinity of Russia, and the influence of the Greek Church, have done much to demoralize the place. When a landed proprietor sends his wheat to be sold at Galatz, he takes care to weigh and seal his sacks, as every man of business ought to do. But this precaution is useless; the purchaser weighs it with false measures, and concludes every transaction in this fraudulent manner. The result is, that the peasant who transported the corn, on his return to his village, is in danger of having his cart and oxen confiscated by his master, to make up for the cheating that has been practised on his poor serf.

It may be readily imagined that the merchants make a rapid fortune by this honourable system. It is no uncommon thing for them to realize 30,000 or 40,000 ducats in five years.

A worthy Austrian merchant beat a native servant to death quite recently. The police affected at first to inquire into the matter, but, a few days later, the merchant was claimed by his consul and sent off to the Archipelago on board a merchant ship. He has since returned to Galatz, without encountering any inconvenience. These are the men to protect the Principalities! We have another instance of impunity in the case of a Greek (a Russian protégé), who farmed some land, and was three years in arrears of payment of the rent. The proprietor naturally ended by confiscating the produce of the farm, in accordance with his rights as owner of the farm. But a mere hint from the Russian consul induced the Moldavian Government to remove the execution and await the good pleasure of the debtor. Yet, notwithstanding such facts as these, moderate men in England advocate the restoration of the *statu quo* at the next peace.

It must be evident to all who reflect on facts, that the capitulations forced on the Porte by European diplomacy have been disgraceful and disastrous to Turkey. Franks residing in the Ottoman Empire still persist in only acknowledging the decisions of their own courts of law in criminal matters, which occasions the greatest irritation among the natives, and leads to painful oppression of the native population, Christian as well as Turk. The impunity of Greek murderers at Pera, most of whom we must be proud to acknowledge as British subjects from the Ionian Islands, as well as the attempt of

Austria to steal Koszta at Smyrna, are edifying illustrations of European influence in Turkey.

M. Hell, after taking up his quarters at the hotel of Moldavia, kept by a grand-daughter of Gall, visited the French consul, living in a wretched hovel, while the other Great Powers have small palaces for their representatives. He launches forth into piteous lamentations on the inferiority of French consular establishments, and on the uncere-
monious manner in which French subjects are treated in the Levant.

France sends few goods to the East, though her fashions and *nouveautés* are in much request everywhere. Most of her merchandise is transported by sailing vessels, or by land, through Vienna, where it encounters many hindrances. A bale will sometimes be a year on the road. Our travellers met with several eminent persons at Galatz, including a Mrs. Talbot, the *last of the Stuarts*, and Madame Bogdan, a faded beauty and a lady of rank, who, in earlier years, had been the pride of the saloons of Vienna and of Yassy.

They started from Galatz for Yassy, on the 25th October, in a post *carotsa*, a sort of wicker wheelbarrow, filled with a bundle of hay, and whirled along with terrific rapidity by a long team of horses. The wheels are rather pentagonal than circular, and are only kept fixed to their axle, in most cases, by the speed of the revolutions, and they often drop off without the traveller condescending to notice it. M. Hell had been somewhat seasoned to this style of travelling by the Russian *pereclatnoi*, but poor M. Laurens, the artist, who was not initiated in the mysteries of this mode of travelling, was perspiring at every pore in his attempts to keep his balance, and thought himself the most unhappy of men. On the road you enlist relays of half-wild horses to forward you on the way. As regards the drivers, they are models of horsemanship and picturesque effect. They look like mousquetaires of Louis XV., only without their arms.

The road led them through interminable cabbage-fields; this vegetable, with the *mammaliga*,¹ being the exclusive diet of the Moldavian peasantry. A few hovels, herds of bullocks, with wooden triangles round their necks, and some brown Tsigani, or gipsy tents, with the everlasting cabbage-fields, were the only objects that met their eyes during a journey of fifty-five hours.

The view of Yassy from the heights of Sokola is admirable, especially when the setting sun casts its purple tints over the ridges of the Carpathian mountains. The architectural masses of the cathedral and of the palace of the hospodars, which are actually only stucco buildings, produce a striking and imposing effect at a distance.

Though European in reality, Yassy is Oriental in its style of building, its population and customs, and it presents a great resemblance to the towns of Asia Minor in its picturesque local colouring. You encounter a mixture of European and Moldavian customs, even in the saloon of a Moldavian lady. The important part played by the consuls; the variety of races; the Jewish, Armenian, and Tartar shops lining the narrow and dirty streets of the old city; the unhealthy quarters; the mosques; the Byzantine churches, wretched hovels, built against elegant palaces;—all the usual features of the

¹ Indian corn porridge.

Levant are found at Yassy, and give it an original appearance which is mortifying in the eyes of the natives. Accordingly they strain every nerve to destroy its picturesque character by widening the streets, and substituting asphalt for the primitive wood pavement; by knocking down the Jewish and Tsigani hovels, and building little houses in the German style; by increasing the number of European shops; and, above all, by introducing a system of lighting that dispels the magic and mystery of the Oriental *chiaro scuro*. Nor is this all; for the Moldavian boyards have cast aside their magnificent national costume, and adopted our elegant and becoming dress-coats and tights, which will eventually lead them, no doubt, to imitate our other perfections.

CHAPTER VI.

MOUTHS OF THE DANUBE.

THE population of Yassy is extremely mixed. The Jews, driven from Poland by the charities of Nicholas, have poured into Moldavia like a torrent, and lead a very miserable life there. They preserve the same misery and crawling degradation as in Southern Russia. Proverbially dirty, and crowded together in filthy holes, they appear the dregs of humanity. Adopting literally the Scripture adage—*increase and multiply*—their numbers increase so rapidly that the Government begins to feel anxious on the subject. They are almost all shop-keepers, hawkers, or money-lenders, and competition reduces their profits to such a trifle, that they can scarcely support their large families.

Directly that a stranger arrives at Yassy, a host of these crows besiege his door from morning till night, and, despite of threats, insults, and blows, they always stick to their victim till they find his weak side, and make themselves indispensable. A dark calico robe, shining with grease, canvass breeches, old shoes on their feet, pointed beards, and locks of hair sticking to their forehead and emitting a sickening smell,—such is the personal appearance of these worthies. The women are better, as usual; their personal charms and graceful attire presenting a marked contrast to their filthy husbands.

The Moldavians, like all nations only beginning to be civilized, attend more to form than to substance. Religion, morality, arts and industry, are only regarded in a superficial light. Though devoted to the communion of the Greek Church, they do not understand its essence or its moral part. They are, moreover, so frivolous, that they will not attend to the serious side of any question.

Thirsting for pleasure and dissipation, they give way to such freedom in their morals, that it would be called license in any other country.

The aristocracy consists of several classes, who engross the whole secular power. Though fond of parties, the distinction of rank is so carefully observed among them, that they cannot form what we generally imply by society. The drawing-room of the reigning prince alone admits a sort of fleeting fusion, just tolerated by the higher aristocracy.

The respect for rank degenerates here into disgusting servility. Thus a boyard of the second class, notwithstanding brilliant services or great endowments, cannot dispense with humiliating ceremonies in his relations with a boyard of the first class. His only redress is to inflict his spite on a boyard of the third class.

Saloons, excluding distinguished men of an inferior class, will admit noted blacklegs and adventurers from France, Germany, or Italy, if they play a good game of cards. There are nowhere so many men of blasted character as in the Principalities.

The love of play reigns as supreme in Moldavia as in Russia, and fortunes are equally impaired by it. They also carry competition in equipages, furniture, &c., to a high pitch, and many of the old families are ruined. They are also engaged in perpetual law-suits. Men are born to, and die with, the same law-suit which is bequeathed to their heirs. Yet this country is a foretaste of Russia, and is thought to be in advance of Ottoman Turkey.

M. Hell informs us that political parties have run high in Moldavia since 1829. The joint protectorate of Russia and Turkey has given rise to a conflict of interests and sympathies. The Russian party is a small minority, composed chiefly of some high functionaries and boyards; but the mass of the people is anti-Russian, and will not easily forget the Russian occupations in 1828, 1849, and 1853-4, and all the injury it has inflicted on them.

There is greater facility of divorce in this Christian country than in any other. Its civil and religious laws are so elastic and complaisant, that it amounts to the ridiculous. The Moldavians are not scrupulous in taking advantage of them, and regard marriage as a means of gratifying a temporary fancy. During M. Hell's residence at Yassy, only a single couple could be cited as a specimen of a rare fidelity in this country.

Naturally impressionable, the Moldavians are addicted to poetry. Nowhere are our great poets more greedily devoured than on the banks of the Pruth and the Danube. There are several monthly reviews containing poetical effusions; and the Moldavian ladies cultivate poetry assiduously and successfully.

The present prince is reproached with a decided leaning to Russia, and a disgraceful avarice.

When Abdul Medjid stopped at Rustchuk, on a recent occasion, the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia went to pay their respects to him; and some Moldavians of high rank went there at the same time, carrying energetic protests against the public and private life of their sovereign. The latter, learning in time the strategy of his enemies, from a violent anonymous letter, submitted the letter to the Sultan, declaring his innocence, and pronouncing it a horrible calumny. His tactics succeeded so well, that two boyards have disappeared, and their families have never learnt what has become of them.

Returning from Yassy to Galatz, our friends passed a night in a small village on the Danube.

The peninsular chain of Bulgaria, with the river in the front ground, presents an imposing spectacle. The extent of the horizon, the primitive nature of the country, the rustic population, and the thought that in a few hours they would start for the smiling Bos-

phorus, contributed in casting a certain pleasing melancholy over the picturesque features of the scene. They passed the night in a hut. Wrapped in his cloak, his head resting on his saddle, and having nothing but a coarse rug for his mattress, M. Hell gave the reins to his fancy, whilst M. Laurens was copying some delightful sketches by the light of a wretched candle.

The export trade of Galatz and Ibraila underwent, in 1845, a great increase, and seems likely to increase daily. Nevertheless, the Principalities are unable to meet the orders they receive from France and England; this results from two causes, defective crops and the high charges of freights, amounting to 7 fr. 30 cents. per cargo, from Galatz to Marseilles. This dearness proceeds, in a great measure, from the disgraceful state of the Sulina channel, where, for three months in the year, the depth is only seven English feet, which prevents the navigation of all vessels of ordinary tonnage. And this state of things has been tolerated for years, without remonstrance by British Ministers and the Austrian Government. The fatal accumulation of sand and mud, which has been allowed by the Russian authorities, in defiance of express treaties, only disappears in the month of July, at the time when the river recovers its usual level.

M. Hell and his friend started from Galatz for Constantinople by a Lloyd's steamer, called the *Ferdinando Primo*. Their voyage was tedious and stormy, owing to the violent October winds sweeping the Black Sea.

Starting from Galatz, you have to the left the mouth of the celebrated river which was established as the Moldo-Turkish frontier by the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, corroborating that of Adrianople. The Pruth forms the limit between Moldavia and Russia, from the point where it touches the former country to its confluence with the Danube.

A trip of eleven hours brought our travellers to Sulina (a place of European celebrity), situated facing the Euxine. You commonly find here about 400 vessels laden with corn, moored in tiers along both banks of the river, and awaiting the proper moment for crossing the terrible bar of the Danube—the monument of Russian perfidy and Western imbecility.

After consulting a Sulina pilot, the captain of the steamer was convinced that it would be impossible to put to sea. The water over the bar was only eleven English feet in depth, and so great was the violence of the wind that the vessel could not venture to cross it without the risk of grounding, and perhaps of being wrecked.

The previous year, at the same season, there had only been seven feet and a half water. Vessels containing cargoes of above 1500 loads were forced to use lighters, which was especially ruinous for the Principalities. There are at Sulina about 300 lighters, rigged as a sort of cutter or schooner, many of which belong to the commandant of the place, Colonel Soulouviou, nephew of General Federof, the Governor of Bessarabia. It is difficult to conceive the rogueries committed by the owners of the lighters; there is no tariff of charges, and they can fleece the captains according to their whims, and with impunity. Eighty or ninety colonate (Roman scudi) are now paid for the transport of 200 loads, *i. e.* for carrying them a distance of fifteen or twenty minutes. A vessel containing 2500 loads was lately obliged to pay

the exorbitant sum of 500 colonate for the necessary lighters. The charges naturally increase in proportion to the continuance of bad weather, and Russia is on the spot to neutralize all attempts made by the Western nations to organize a less ruinous system of lighterage.

A little labour bestowed on the alluvial deposits at the Sulina bar, would give a depth of twenty feet to the channel. The Turks used to maintain a constant depth of sixteen feet, by making all vessels tow some iron drags after them. According to the Convention of 1840, Russia was bound to keep the channel clear, by means of a toll levied on every vessel; but this engagement, like all others, has not been kept by the Muscovites. A dredging machine is said to have been ordered in England for this purpose, but it has never been seen in operation, and its existence is thought to be problematical.

M. Hell informs us that the Russian Government was always so adverse to the free navigation of this noble river, that even at the time of his visit it was accused of having stopped up the passage by causing cart-loads of sand to be shot into the channel during the night.

In the month of April 1843, the Austrian brig *Solechisto*, Captain Nicholas Mareglia, was wrecked at Sulina; and the interpreter of the Austrian consulate, who resided at Galatz, was ordered to effect the sale of all the cargo that had been saved. This was opposed by the Russian commandant, under the pretext that the sale could only take place through the instrumentality of the public crier, and this accident gave birth to endless embarrassments for the Austrian consulate. An Austrian agent is scarcely tolerated at Sulina for a few months in the year. * * * Yet all these annoyances, emanating from the Russian Government, are in direct contravention to the Treaty of Vienna, and subsequent treaties!

Sulina consists of 120 houses, built along the right bank without any order or regularity. Its inhabitants consist of traders, or owners of lighters, who take full advantage of the difficulties encountered by the shipping at the mouth. The garrison consists of 240 marines, forty infantry of the line, twelve employés at the lighthouse, twenty-six troopers with an officer, ten Cossacks answering as policemen, two schooners and a gun-boat. The country, often shrouded with the sea and river-fogs, presents a very monotonous appearance. The other mouths of the Danube have long since been abandoned, and appear to be quite impassable for shipping.

The *Ferdinando Primo* was detained by stress of weather twenty-four hours at this wretched spot. At length a pilot offered to liberate them from their durance vile for a consideration. Under his dexterous steering they cleared the mouth and bar in half an hour, and once more ploughed the angry waves of the Euxine.

Their passage was rough and tedious, but very amusing, owing to the eccentric character of some of the passengers. One of them, a young Englishman, named Bruce, was going all the way to India, by the request of his mother, to secure a horse that belonged to his brother, killed in one of the recent wars; another, M. Skina, a Moldavian boyard, was making a little trip to Tauris, to say good-morning to a friend. The Governor of Widdin was among the passengers,

and young Bruce, dressing himself in his pelisse and fez, presented himself to Countess Talbot, who was also on board, bound to Jerusalem, professing the greatest admiration for her wit and courage. He played his part so well that the poor old lady was completely mystified, and spoke of nothing else at Constantinople. They reached Therapia on the 11th of November.

After describing his trip, M. Hell enters into a brief survey of the countries he had explored, of which we shall attempt to give a brief summary. Agriculture has made great strides within the last few years in these regions, nor has the movement been confined to the rayas, but it prevails among the Turks along the coast, who are excited by the love of gain and the security attending commercial transactions, till the Russians disturbed them in 1853.

M. Hell is of opinion that model farms would be of great use in the agricultural districts of Bulgaria and Roumelia. They ought to be founded near Varna, Bourgas, and Baltschik. This would bring them into contact with the great outlets of commercial activity, and they would be of great use in advancing the science of agriculture among the primitive populations of the basin of the Danube.

This French *savant* is of opinion that Bourgas is adapted to become the chief port on this coast of the Black Sea. It is situated at the bottom of a vast basin, at the entrance of large plains stretching out to the westward, and its warehouses contain all the productions of the southern slope of the Balkans.

Varna is almost as favourably situated for trade. The files of carts and mules from the north of the Balkan converge to this town. The roadstead of Baltschik is separated from that of Varna by a broken chain of hills, and it is a good outlet for the rich produce of the Danubian plains.

Goods are transported to these harbours from the interior regularly twice a-year, and this is effected in rough carts, drawn by buffaloes, which sometimes travel a distance of sixty leagues. The question of transport is one of the most important for the Turkish Government, for on it depends mainly the price of corn and the development of the export trade.

Though no attempts had been made to improve the roads at the time of M. Hell's visit, the reader is probably aware that the Turkish Government had it in contemplation to establish a railway in the basin of the Danube about the commencement of the present war, which was partly occasioned by the generous disinclination of the Czar for progressive movements. In fine weather the present tracks answer well enough, but in bad weather they are impassable. The cost of transport often amounts to 40 per cent. on value of the goods. One year it almost equalled the value of the goods. Such facts are sufficient to explain the urgent necessity for good roads.

The approaches to Bourgas and Varna are easy. This is not the case, however, at Baltschik, whose houses are perched on the steep declivity of a high cliff. The roads leading to it do not admit of two carts abreast, and strings of carts are often detained for hours outside the town, as in our broad and convenient thoroughfares of the city of London.

There is also a great want of light-houses on this coast. The

heavy Black Sea fogs and low coast of the mouth of the Danube make them very essential. There ought to be lights on Cape Emona and near Cape Kalagriah. The first would secure the navigation near Varna, and the entrance of the Gulf of Bourgas. The second would point out the position of Kalagriah and the dangerous coastline of Mangalia, Custendjeh, and Kara-Kerman.

The fine structure commenced at Schebler in 1765, might be easily completed.

With these remarks, we bid adieu to M. Hell, whose instructive society has been of great service in throwing additional light on the important and interesting regions on the west coast of the Euxine.

CHAPTER VII.

ESTIMATE OF TURKEY AND THE TURKS.

BEFORE we pass to other regions and nations connected with the present war, we shall pause to give the reader a general notion of the Turks and of the Turkish capital, and we shall endeavour to correct some fatal errors and prejudices that exist on this subject.

Whatever the cause or result, a great change has come over Constantinople within the last few years. Twenty years ago, Pera only contained two hotels, frequented by a sprinkling of English and Russian travellers, and of Austrian merchants. Since that period, the introduction of steam navigation in the Levant has wrought a great transformation. Thousands of travellers pour into all the Turkish *scale*¹ at almost all seasons of the year. Numerous European establishments have started up on all hands, including handsome hotels, dressmakers', perfumers', upholsterers', ironmongers', and confectioners' shops, supplying the wants of the European colony, whose numbers have almost doubled in Turkey the last few years.

Whoever returns to Constantinople in the present day, after an absence of ten years, must needs be greatly struck with the remarkable change that has taken place in the Turkish manners and character in the interval. On his former visit, the traveller would have found or imagined that he found a great barrier to the introduction of Western civilization in the religion, ideas, and national prejudices of the Turks. So great did these obstacles appear, that Turkey seemed very little influenced by the West, though a constant commercial and diplomatic intercourse was kept up between the Ottoman Empire and its Christian neighbours.

Now we are told, however, that the Turks of Constantinople appear to overlook or give a new interpretation to the Koran, that they are shaking off their pride and Asiatic indolence, and are beginning to imitate those *Giaours* whom they used to despise supremely. Such is the statement of a French *savant*, who passed through, but who does not seem to have fathomed, Turkey. He

¹ Name for ports in the Levant.

attributes what he calls this change to the fact, that the reign of the sword being past, they are conscious that if they wish to shine in the world, they must strive to attain to intellectual pre-eminence. There may be some accuracy in these remarks, but we must remember that Constantinople is not Turkey. Proceeding to analyze the remarks of our French friend, we find that he regards Turkey as a new chrysalis, dropping at length its old abuses, old routines, and fatal prejudices, that were long a barrier against European influence. Still he admits that in casting off the past, she may be adopting, too rapidly, elements that are antipathic to the national character.

Recent European tourists inform us, that if the capital proceeds at its present rapid rate of improvement, it will soon lose all its originality. Most of its bazaars contain Western goods alone, and the only place where you find traces of Eastern luxury is the *Bezestein*, open only from nine to twelve.

But a more serious symptom is the disappearance of the divans; the tchibouk is giving way to the cigarette; the rich stuffs of Damascus, Aleppo, and Broussa, are being supplanted by the prints and gingham of Switzerland and of England; bald heads are being gradually thatched with fine black hair; and the very Sultan is building solid palaces of marble and stone.

Pera is beginning to lose its picturesque aspect, and to assume the vulgar appearance of a European town. One of its streets boasts a splendid pastry-cook's shop, with a saloon, containing liqueurs, iced water, and newspapers, exactly as at Paris. Most of its frequenters are Turks, who eat an amount of little patties that would alarm the most daring European consumers. All the recent buildings are of stone, and, by the assistance of conflagrations, Pera will shortly only retain its steep declivities as a relic of its ancient features.

On seeing all these changes, our French friend fears that the Turks will be possessed with the fever of imitation—that they will feel a profound contempt for their slight but graceful palaces, which are disappearing every day in the whirlwind of reform. At the same time, he adds that Constantinople cannot be easily renewed. Though whole districts may be repeatedly laid low by conflagrations, much time must elapse before the thousand delicious konaks that decorate it disappear, and make way for dismal stone or brick rows. Besides, the Bosphorus will always remain, to give it the crown of the world; its seas, its splendid sky, and its admirable situation,—in short, all the gifts with which nature has endowed it, and which man cannot snatch from it, will remain to this enchanted spot.

Many of the changes introduced at Stamboul are said to violate the Koran, and we are told that a certain class only observe its precepts for the sake of appearances,—in this respect following the example of many Christians as regards the Bible. We are told that they drink wine, eat in fast-time, and are always in opposition to the spirit of their country.

These remarks apply, however, only to a certain section of the present generation, who go to imbibe good principles at London and Paris. To these may be applied the term of Young Turkey, in the same way that we speak of Young France, Young Italy, &c., which seems to imply that all old states feel the need of becoming new, to keep up

with the spirit of the age. We must not, perhaps, except even Russia from this remark, for though the old Muscovite party prevails at court, native writers¹ of rank inform us that a Liberal and even Socialist spirit is widely diffused among the Russian nobles, who form the intelligent classes.

A French *savant* observes, we think erroneously, that Turkey must, more than any other country, feel the necessity of shaking off its finality. In this statement he appears to us to give in to the vulgar errors of Western travellers, who regard the Koran as a barrier to all reform, whereas it contains a pre-eminently elastic code, and advocated, long before Rousseau, the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which have also been for many years better observed in the Ottoman Empire than in some Christian countries. But we entirely coincide with the same writer when he thinks it injudicious for Turkey to plunge headlong into reform, to attain to a degree of progress, and to ideas in harmony with the tendencies of the age. "Let it borrow from our laws, our institutions, our discoveries, and our manufactures, all that can enlighten it, and make it issue from the dungeon of prejudice and ignorance; but let it remain faithful to the simple, calm, and dignified habits of the old Osmanlis; and let it, above all, preserve its nationality, instead of becoming the slavish imitator rather of our vices than of our virtues."

Such should and would be the course pursued by the Turkish Government, if it were not impeded by evil counsellors.

European travellers profess to smile at the odd effects produced by imitation of the West in Turkey, without remembering that precisely the same ludicrous phenomena have been happening in Russia for a hundred years, without provoking a remark. The Turks fancy that by adopting our customs, our furniture, and our vices, they will reach our level. They confound the surface with the substance. Unhappily neither are, in most cases, worthy of their imitation, and they cast aside what was better to assume something worse. We are told that they have an extravagant fondness for clocks, pianos, and carriages. One pacha, who had lived a long time at Paris, had furnished his *konak* with several pianos, which he used to thump without knowing a note of music. Another affected puppyish manners, stuck his fez on one side, and eyed the women with his spy-glass. M. Hell knew a pacha who took daily a sentimental walk to one of the smaller cemeteries, not to compose an elegy, but to gaze at a pretty Christian girl who used to exhibit herself coquettishly at the window. All this will no doubt be thought very consoling to promising atheists, and fast young men of the rising generation in the West.

Some years ago the usual vehicle was the *araba*, drawn by beeves, with stately steps, and with their heads adorned by looking-glasses and gay tassels. Now a host of various-shaped carriages circulate in the streets and walks, transporting the beauties of the harem to spots where they can find admirers.

But what has become of the veil, the cloak, and Ottoman jealousy? In most cases they never existed, as the reader will find by perusing

¹ De Gurowski and Ivan Golovin.

the letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu ; but some changes have been also introduced in the garments and customs that gave rise to the calumny. The *gachmack* (veil) is so transparent, and so cleverly arranged, that, far from concealing, it sets off the beauty of a handsome woman. We are told that no *coiffure* is more fascinating than this light muslin, whose folds make an elegant framework to a face that they cannot conceal. Besides this, we have to remember the effect of contrast ; and I find from the account of a reverend gentleman of the Church of England, who penetrated by mistake into the courtyard of a Turkish house in Athens, before the Greek Revolution, that the blaze of beauty that met his gaze when he found himself in the centre of a group of young Turkish women, who suddenly dropped their veils, exceeded anything he had ever witnessed in the West.¹

The cloak, or *feredje*, is so easily opened at the slightest movement, and is so convenient for different indiscreet purposes, besides casting a certain magical mystery round Turkish beauty, that good judges inform me that it would greatly lose by an exchange with coal-skuttle bonnets, tight-lacing, red noses, and water-wagtail jackets.

As to jealousy, the best authorities pronounce it a complete chimera, seeing that no people gives so much liberty to women as the Ottomans. As a proof of this, a certain French writer asks us what a fond European husband would think of his wife absenting herself a whole day, without his having the right to follow her ? Or what would he think of being excluded from his bed-room for an indeterminate time, under the pretext of his lady-wife receiving her female friends ?²

Nevertheless, the Turk resigns himself philosophically to this custom, and must never venture to appear in public with his wife. Hence the latter, sheltered under her transparent *gaschmack* and her indiscreet *feredje*, can go everywhere courting attentions and adventures, without fearing any jealous watchfulness. It matters not at what hour, or in what place you are ; you meet numbers of Turkish women rambling about in search of adventures, without any serious duty calling them abroad, for they have no business to transact. All household duties fall to the share of the husband, who goes to the butcher and baker, and must furnish the needful money without the wife being required to attend to any material care. The husband is expected also to look after the children, and he generally performs this duty in a most judicious and tender manner. All authorities of note attest, that nothing can compare with the affection of the Turk for his progeny. M. Hell states that he often saw noble old men, with silvery beards, preparing their kief under the shade of plantain trees, in the company of their children. Few mothers could have a more delicate care, or show a more tender love for their offspring, than these aged Turks. It must also be admitted that Turkish children seldom have the mischievous tricks of ours, which makes them often the terror or bore of visitors, and of a number of victims. This probably results from their early education, as well as from their nature. At a very early age, they show a childish gentleness and gravity

¹ Hughes' Albania and Greece.

² When a Turkish lady visits a friend she leaves her slippers at the door of the harem, to warn the husband not to enter. The longest visit lasts several days.

which makes their presence a pleasure instead of a torment, as with us.

We would remark, in this connection, that some admirers of youthful nuisances at home say that all boys ought to be mischievous, as it shows spirit, and that they will grow up manly. We beg, in reply, to refer them to the gentle Turkish lads who can display the heroism of Sinope, and achieve the glory of Silistria. When will the West learn that noise is not courage, and that fussiness is not manliness?

Most recent French writers on Turkey, though they criticise the present movement in the Empire, admit that the imitation of Europe will lead to excellent results. Great reforms and useful ameliorations are said to have characterised the reign of Abdul-Medjid. We are informed that an excessive pride, a peculiar characteristic of the Turk, is daily disappearing with his ignorance. It is, however, questionable if the sham virtues that he will acquire from us will atone for the loss of a proper self-respect.

If the number of schools were the criterion of the progress of a country, Turkey must be pronounced very advanced; and those who know it best will inform you, that in many features Turkey is decidedly in advance of Christendom. If the educational progress and material comfort¹ of a people are the signs of the advance of a country—and who shall pretend to deny it?—Turkey is in advance of England and France, and on a par with America. Nor is there any country in the world in which the principle of equality, properly understood, is so universally diffused.

Turkey has a polytechnic school, an engineer school, an industrial school, a school of design, a school of medicine, a normal school, an agricultural school, model farms, museums, &c.; in short, all that is requisite in the most civilized countries for the diffusion of instruction. Though professors are scarce and salaries small, these evils will be soon rectified. The very *ulemas*, as well as the rising generation generally, are infected with the desire for knowledge. Many *ulemas* begin their instruction at the polytechnic school at Constantinople, and complete it at Paris, where they learn to believe in nothing,—a most desirable consummation in the eyes of the West.

It is evident that the religious ideas of the Turks, especially in the capital, have undergone a great change lately.

It is a well-known fact that every representation of the human figure used to be regarded as a crime by the Turks; hence no sculpture or drawings are seen on the outside or in the interior of their houses and public monuments. The only instance of a violation of this rule is the collection of the portraits of all the sultans down to Abdul-Medjid in the old seraglio. Yet drawing is now considered by the Government as one of the most essential parts of education, and a special school has been formed to initiate the Turkish youth into this dangerous art.

The press is perhaps the main agent of progress and innovation in all countries; hence its systematic suppression or oppression by all the reactionary governments of the Continent.

¹ See Slade's Remarks on the Bulgarians; also Ubicini.

Besides numerous European papers that are introduced and read at Constantinople, many persons work night and day to satisfy the increasing wants of the community. The capital has two papers in the French language, three Turkish, three Armenian, and two Greek; besides a Byzantine Indicator, and *La Yurisprudenza Bizantina* in Italian, as well as the *Annales de la Conference de Saint Vincent de Paul* in French. To give an idea of the intellectual movement in Turkey, it is proper to add that numerous translations of works of celebrity have been lately effected, and that Sami-Effendi, late Minister in Russia, has written his *Impressions of Travel* like any English or French tourist.

Some thinkers profess to regret the spread of Western infection in Turkey, anticipating its decline and fall as accelerated by the loss of the eminent qualities that characterised the old Osmanli. To this class of Conservatives belongs Slade, and Layard seems sometimes to coincide with him. But M. Hell, Ubicini, and others, observe that the spirit of the times is changed, and that conquest is no longer the passion of the age. This, however, was written before the Russian aggression in 1853. There is, nevertheless, some truth in what they remark respecting the advantage accruing to the cause of humanity by recent enactments, though even here they commit gross errors. The life of man no longer depends on the caprice of a pacha or a janissary; but it should not be forgotten that the victims under the old system were commonly the rich and powerful, and not the poor and needy, as in England and Christendom. A perfect security of life, honour, and property, is now guaranteed to all Mussulmans, but this state of things has existed much longer in the provinces than is generally imagined. The taxes are regularly levied, but the conscription has been introduced, and is imposed on the Christians against their will as a boon, in exchange for the *harasch*, or capitation-tax. Several undeniable facts remain, however, to prove that notwithstanding the meddling of diplomacy, the Turks are firmly fixed in Europe, and essential to its security; that they are becoming a highly agricultural race, and that their produce is beginning to form a formidable competition with that of Russia and Moldavia. These facts speak louder than all reasoning, and show in a clear light the true motive of the Russian invasion in 1853. It is difficult to conceive that an increase of prosperity and comfort, the removal of many abuses, and the symptoms of general energy and spirit in peace or war, are an evidence of the decay and disease of a country. In short, Turkey is not a sick man, though Russia is trying to poison him.

Whatever the result, the best judges inform us that good intentions are not wanting in any of the public men in Turkey, and a proverb says, that where there is a will there is a way. The Sultan has every wish to benefit his country, and is endowed with a well-developed intelligence. It is justly remarked, that he must have been gifted with unusual capacity to resist the enervating and dazzling *entourage* in which he has been brought up. His health, which was very delicate, has been strengthened, but his features bear the stamp of a profound melancholy and much suffering.

Like his father, he is passionately fond of music. The troop of

Italian singers is often called to represent operas at the palace, and the cadines witness it behind a gilt railing. These representations are also attended by the high functionaries of the state.

The leader of the Sultan's band is the brother of the celebrated Donizetti, who was engaged by Mahmoud more than sixteen years ago. They play well, and execute all the latest European airs and operas. The traveller who sails in his caique at three o'clock before *Tcherazan* (a summer palace of the Sultan), is almost sure to hear the Bosphorus resound with the harmony of brass instruments, whose metallic tones are re-echoed by the mountains of Anatolia.

Before leaving the Turks, we shall say a few words on their gallantry, which has been questioned and denied by some names of weight. They have met a sufficient answer at Citate and Silistria, but a still completer refutation is demanded. Mr. Urquhart has advanced the paradox, that the only writers who speak the truth about Turkey are Russian; and we find Russian authors showing the greatest respect for the formidable character of their opponents. Thus General Valentini, in his history of the last war, states that in the affair at Basardjik, in 1828 (June), the Ottoman cavalry charged the Russian artillery between the squares of chasseurs like madmen; and he states that the Ottoman defends his arms, and all he has, with greater obstinacy than other nations, and that he fights with the fury of despair rather than surrender (p. 241). He speaks of a young Turk, twelve years old, whose brother had fallen on the breach at Brailow (June 1828), and who said, "Why should I pity him? did he not die on the breach?" "This fanatical contempt of death is peculiar to them," adds the General, who says, speaking of the siege of Silistria (June 1829): "La garnison de Silistria s'est couverte de gloire," and "Silistria avait résisté des semaines entières, ce qui surpasse, tout ce qu'on doit attendre à l'ordinaire." The General corroborates these statements by informing us that these determined troops form a living wall behind the breach, as at Brailow, or rush on the assailants along the parapet; and, in another place, he says the combat of Basardjik (6th July) proves that the superiority of the Turkish cavalry, under equal chances, results from their attacking so suddenly that it amounts to a surprisal.

An English writer of note, who has disseminated many absurdities about the Turks, professes to question their valour; yet he admits, speaking of the battle of Koulevscha, "The Russians gained the victory, but the honour of the battle was due to the delhis (Turkish cavalry), who, the second time within the month, broke through the enemy's squares. Russian officers informed him that their cavalry could not have charged with effect at Koulevscha, the ground being so unfavourable. * * * Mr. Slade was afterwards on the spot with Colonel Chesney, and had not the fact been indisputable, they would not have believed that the delhis had made the charge ascribed to them. The gallant captain infers that the Russian infantry have been overrated: may it not be correcter to conclude that the Turkish valour has been slandered? (p. 216.) A certain English morning paper loves to maintain two propositions: first, that the Turks are only brave behind stone walls; secondly, that their cavalry is worthless. The above action and Sinope would seem to refute the first assump-

tion, and Captain Slade's remarks on the dexterity and efficiency of Turkish cavalry destroy the second.

Several awkward mistakes about the Turks have been made: it would be much better not to repeat them.

Before we leave this branch of the subject, we shall offer a few brief remarks on the folly or delinquency of the German Powers in protracting this war. They had it in their power to conclude it in two ways: first, by not interfering with the Turks, which would have prevented the war, or brought it to a speedy termination; secondly, by decisive measures, if they determined to interfere. They do neither, and we pay and suffer. If I am asked for proofs, I have presented some in a former work,¹ and I will proceed to give some more here, which appear to me to set the question at rest.

Those best acquainted with Turkey inform us that the Dobrudscha is the gate not only of the provinces, but of the whole south. From its northern angle the Danube is commanded in its entire course, and in the command of that river consists the whole war. The Turks or the Allies, pushing rapidly across the Dobrudscha in the rear of the Russians, would have cut the Russian army in two. That to the south would have been taken in a trap, that to the north exposed to be crushed in detail. The Russians in Bessarabia could not even retreat into Russia, from the same reason which renders impossible the advance of Russian reinforcements.

This being the configuration of the soil, the whole question is one of time. The Turks last spring had 200,000 men north of the Balkan. In three days they could have sent 20,000 men into the Dobrudscha; in a fortnight, 100,000. They did not move, because the Porte was ordered by the Allies not to suffer its armies to stir. Then the Austrians themselves arrive at length, and instead of hurrying into Moldavia, they linger at Bucharest, alienating the natives, Christians and Turks, so that they can obtain no confidence; and disgusting the Circassians, so that they reject their assistance. So much for the discretion of diplomacy and strategy! When the war has reached an indefinite extension and duration, and we are crippled and ruined with debts and taxes, we shall perhaps ultimately shake off our friends, and discover that all this mischief might have been prevented by common sense and honesty.

Accounts differ widely as regards the actual military force of the Turkish Empire, but all authorities agree in dividing the land force into the active army and the reserve, exclusive of auxiliary corps. The former consists of six corps (ordous). Each ordou is composed of six infantry regiments, four cavalry regiments, and one artillery regiment, classed into two divisions, each of which is subdivided into three brigades. According to the Government lists, the whole army contains thirty-six infantry regiments, with 107,360 men; twenty-four cavalry regiments, with 22,416 men; six artillery regiments, 7800 men; four regiments of fortress artillery, 5200 men; and if we add to these the detached corps in Candia, Tripoli, and Tunis, together with the reserve (redifs), the whole Turkish army presents a grand total of 400,000, and can be increased by an addition of 150,000 to 170,000

¹ Russia and England, their Strength and Weakness.

men from the tributary provinces. Each ordou contains about 20,000 to 22,000 men, with twelve batteries, and is placed under the order of a Muschir, or field-marshal, who has two or three Feriks (generals of division), and the same number of Livas (brigadiers), as brigades under his orders. One regiment is composed of four battalions, and about 3500 men. A cavalry regiment contains about 950 men.

Part of the army was placed under the command of Muschir Omar-Pascha at the beginning of the war. The strength of his army is estimated at from 150,000 to 180,000 men, though it is very difficult to obtain a correct list of the troops in Turkey, as, besides the regular forces, there are a number of auxiliaries, volunteer redifs, from various districts, some of which are virtually independent of the Sultan, and whose amount it is almost impossible to ascertain. A proximate estimate, however, represents the army of Omar Pascha as consisting of 95,000 Nizam, 22,000 Redifs, 18,000 men of the Egyptian contingent, and 36,500 Baschi-Bozucs (irregulars), forming a total of 171,500 men, with 246 guns, and without reckoning those belonging to the garrisons on the Danube. There is moreover a reserve corps of 50,000 men, with eighty guns, at Adrianople.

The head-quarters of the Turkish army on the Danube are at Schumla, the most important point on the line of operations. Widdin forms the focus of the left wing under Ismail Pacha, whose posts extend up the Danube to the Servian frontier, and down the stream to Nicopoli-Turnu: this wing is destined to operate in Little Wallachia.

The centre extends from Sistova to Silistria, and its head-quarters are at Rasgrad. Its most important points are Rustchuk, Giurgevo, and Turtukai-Oltenitza, and it is under the orders of Mustapha Pacha.

The right wing is commanded by Halil-Pacha, whose head-quarters are at Karassou, and embraces the Dobrudscha from Silistria to Braila.¹

The reserves are so placed on the second line, that from 40,000 to 50,000 men can be concentrated in a moment on a given point, when threatened by a superior force of the enemy.

We have previously observed, that independently of this force on the Danube, reserve corps are being organized at Adrianople and Sophia, consisting of contingents from Asia Minor, Arabia, Egypt, Tripoli, &c., who are forwarded to the scene of action as soon as they are in a somewhat serviceable condition.

The Turkish army is a compound of the most various nationalities, though few if any Christians serve in its ranks, as they have been hitherto excused from the grievous burthen of the conscription by paying the capitation-tax, till evil counsellors forced the Porte to pass measures odious alike to its Moslem and Christian population. You find in the ranks of the Turkish army, Moors, Europeans of various derivations, Arabs, and Arnauts. All are united in fraternal harmony to combat the common enemy.

In estimating the prospects of a campaign, or series of campaigns, in the Danubian Principalities, it would be necessary to take into

¹ This was the position in July 1854.

account the number and nature of the antagonists. For an account of the Russian army, we refer the reader to a future page. As regards the German Powers, it appears somewhat problematical if they are to be viewed in the light of neutrals, or of enemies; and as regards Austria, it is evident that her negotiations or her interference must be alike fatal to Turkey and to liberty. As, therefore, the real hard fighting on the Danube is between Turkey and Russia alone, and as this must virtually constitute the war, we shall first consider the relative advantages and defects of Muscovy and the Ottoman Empire, in engaging on this field, without taking into account the possible, but very improbable, offensive operations of Austria.

Confining ourselves to Turkey and Russia, we have on the one hand a stern discipline, blind obedience in most cases, save when driven to desperation, as at Silistria, when Russian bullets are supposed to have hit Russian generals, mechanical and dogged perseverance, and tactical ability. On the other hand, in the Turkish army, we have a glowing fanaticism, boundless freedom of will in the irregulars, and an intelligent conformity to orders to attain a given end in the regulars,—a fresh, impetuous energy, combined with considerable scientific attainment, and directed by men who have shown themselves masters in the art of war. Two opposite principles are developed in Russian and Turkish armies: first, mechanical regularity and stiffness; and second, intelligence, combined with considerable progress in discipline. Of valour there is abundance in both armies, but if we may judge from recent events, it would not be an exaggeration to give the palm in this respect also to the Turks. Nor would it be difficult to pronounce on which side the most triumphant success would soon declare itself, were not the Turks impeded and thwarted by their Austrian allies.

It may perhaps be useful to cast a glance on the last war between Russia and Turkey, in order to learn something respecting the probable chances of the present contest; for we repeat that the hardest fighting on the Danube will take place between Muscovy and Turkey. If we read attentively the history of the last struggle in 1828-9, we may discover certain principles to guide us in estimating the present conflict, and we shall be able to determine the amount of strength that Russia can put forth in an invasion of European Turkey, the results that Russia can anticipate from such a war, and the difficulties to which both sides are exposed in it.

When Russia began the campaign of 1828, she sent 100,000 men into the field. The various accidents by flood and field, the storming of different Turkish fortresses up to Silistria, the capture of Varna, and, above all, the fatigues of the march, together with the heat of the climate, which decimated the army with epidemics, reduced it to 60,000 men when it retired to winter quarters, though it had received reinforcements by sea from Varna and Basardschik. Now, if we read the account of that campaign carefully, we shall discover that though the Russian army was so small, and though an immense mass of provisions was brought to it by water as well as by land, it suffered severely from famine, as well as the wretched population that it victimized.

The produce of the Danubian Principalities has not greatly increased since 1830; the demands from the west of Europe soon sweep off its crops, and the Russian employés are more thievish than ever. Though immense efforts may be made to forward provisions from Podolia and Ukraine, the impediments are almost insurmountable, and Russia can only obtain them by one route over the steppe, as the Euxine is at length closed to the fleets of Muscovy. For these reasons, it is evident that Russia could not maintain at present more than 120,000 men across the Pruth. Austrian strategists assert that this force is sufficient to maintain Wallachia. But they forget the Dobrudscha, which is a wedge in their rear. As to crossing the Balkan, these German writers admit that Russia has too much sagacity to think that possible now. The advance of Diebitsch to Adrianople in 1829 was a piece of madness, and he was only saved by British and Prussian condescension. Yet the leaders of the Turkish army were at that time inexperienced strategists, who neglected the advantages of fine positions, and Turkey was altogether so crippled by the revolt of the Bosnians, the lukewarmness of other Mohammedan populations, and the villanous stroke of Navarino, that she could afford no effectual resistance to a powerful foe. Yet Turkish valour, even under these disadvantageous circumstances, presented such a formidable obstacle to Russian invasion, that scarcely 20,000 Russians returned to their homes, and that from 2000 to 3000 men fell at the siege of a wretched fortress. The present Turkish army has retained its valour and increased in discipline, and its commander is one of the ablest strategists in Europe. Hence not only is there no danger of the Russians crossing the Balkan, but if the Austrians were not in the way, there would be considerable danger of the Turks crossing the Pruth, which would lead to a general conflagration in Ukraine among the Cossacks, and in Poland, where the Russian Government is hated. This must be prevented at all costs; hence an Austrian army is at Bucharest.

Whosoever is superficially acquainted with the territory on the Danube, must be aware that it is a hopeless affair for Russia to attempt to cross the Danube and Balkan, and to acquire Constantinople by arms; hence she resorts to diplomacy. Delay can do much, treachery can do more, and the coercion of Turkey by intrigue, can do all that she wishes. She adopts all these measures to secure her ends, which she will ultimately attain, unless the people of Western Europe shake off the imbecility or duplicity of their German friends.

The Panslavonic League, the bribing by Russian agents, and the influence of the priests, can do much among the Slavonic population of European Turkey, and among the dastardly Greeks. Though the Romani of the Principalities, the Bulgarians and the serfs have learned to fear, distrust, and hate Muscovite influence of late years; yet the power of gold and fanaticism is almost unlimited, and the sagacity and astuteness of the Cabinet of Petersburg is boundless. Thus, unless Turkey be left to her own instincts and honesty, there is much danger of a united Russo-Slavonic army descending on Constantinople, and whilst a shower of protocols is falling at Vienna.

Turkey is exposed to greater danger from Russian agents than from

Russian soldiers, and there are certain hotbeds of insurrection within her borders and on her frontiers, where a spirit of disaffection is continually hatched by Russia. We allude especially to Servia, Montenegro, and Greece. It is well known that there is a strong Russian party in Servia, and that Montenegro is purchased by Muscovy. As regards Greece, we lose patience directly we turn to that degenerate land and disgraceful people, the offal of Christendom. We there behold ingratitude and baseness exceeding the extremest limits to which these vices have generally reached. Most of these internal dangers of Turkey have been created by the Western Powers, which are now reaping the fruit of their folly at Navarino, in fomenting insurrection and abetting anarchy.

Bosnia and Herzegowina are happily peopled by Mohammedans, who, independently of their natural antipathy to the Greek Christians, are too honourable and loyal to tolerate corruption and perfidy. They have furnished a strong auxiliary contingent to the Turkish army on the Danube, and they possess several strongholds, such as Berbir on the Save, Novi on the Unna, Bihacs on the Dalmatian frontier; and in the interior of those territories,—Banialuka, Travnik, Bosna-Serai, Isvornik, Mostar, Boscitel, Trebigne, and Pristina, where reserve forces are collected and disciplined; so that in case Servia and Montenegro were to rise against Turkey, these troops could oppose them.

PART II.

DIRECT SCENE OF THE WAR ON THE BLACK SEA AND THE BALTIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE EUXINE.

AFTER toiling over the broad lands and along the harassing roads of the Danubian Principalities, it will be some relief once more to stem the fresh waters of the Euxine, whilst our cheeks are fanned by its cool breezes. The scene of war on the Black Sea, embracing all the coast-line as far down as Constantinople, covers an area of 2000 square German miles. The shores of the Euxine belong partly to Europe and partly to Asia, about two-fifths of the line accruing to the former, and three-fifths to the latter.

Turkey possesses the whole of the south and most of the west coast of this inland sea, whilst Russia, assisted by Western blindness, has secured its northern coast, and lays claim to the north-east coast,

forming Circassia, being countenanced in this assumption by the patriotic and philanthropic views of certain statesmen.

The Muscovite territory on the Black Sea, extending from the Pruth to a line drawn half way between Poti in Georgia and Batoum, presents two points of special interest and importance, including a coast-line of about 150 miles. These two points are Odessa and Sebastopol. We shall defer our description of the Russian shore of the Black Sea for a future chapter; and keeping still for the present to Turkey, we shall give a brief survey of its principal points, as well as of the strength of the Turkish fleet.

The western coast of the Black Sea is perhaps more important to Turkey than the southern and eastern, as almost the whole of the shore of Circassia and Asia Minor presents steep, if not inaccessible approaches, consisting of lofty chains of hills, and even stupendous mountains, inhabited by Mussulman populations, living in a partial or total state of independence, and of roving and warlike habits, who would offer such opposition to the advance of a northern invasion as would secure the Ottoman Empire on that side for a long period. But the possession of European Turkey, and the command of its coasts, is of vital importance to the very existence of the Porte. It has been our endeavour, in the foregoing part, to present the reader with a sketch of the principal lines of defence in European Turkey, and the mode in which they cover the capital.

From what has been stated, it will be evident to the reader that Urquhart¹ is correct in saying that the possession of the Black Sea commands the world, because an enemy occupying any post on the coast of Bulgaria or Roumelia would paralyze all the positions farther north, and because Constantinople, the key to universal empire, would soon fall if Muscovy were exclusive master of the Euxine.

It is a favourable circumstance for Turkey, betrayed and cajoled by diplomacy, that the steep rocky coast of the Black Sea is only accessible in a few places. Varna is undoubtedly the most important point on the coast of European Turkey, and consists of an old fortress situated near Schumla, and commanding with the latter the eastern passes over the Balkan.

The importance of Varna has been acknowledged at all times, for in all previous struggles with the Turks, the Russians have been careful to take possession of this fortress. Such an achievement is of paramount importance to Muscovy, as it would destroy the value of the whole Danubian line, and also neutralize the importance of Fokschani, Galatz, and Tulcsa, if held by the Turks; because the latter, having the foe in their rear, would be obliged to retreat, which would save the Russians the expense, delay, and loss of men necessary in crossing the Danube.²

It is needless to observe, that previous to the arrival of the Allies, Varna was placed in a strong state of defence by the Turks, and we are well aware that Osmanlis can do as much in defence of a heap of rubbish, as most soldiers behind a masterpiece of engineering. Varna is also occupied by a strong garrison; and as the uncertain movements

¹ The Progress of Russia.

² Russisch-Türkische Kriegs Schauplatz. General Baron Valentini.

of the Allied fleets may detain them for months again at Beicos Bay, the Turks have wisely strengthened the sea-defences of this important stronghold, to guard it against the daring and rapid strokes of the Russian fleet at Sebastopol.

To the north of Varna we find Baltschik, where a portion of the Turkish fleet is commonly stationed, and protected by a promontory crowned with a fort called Gulgrad; also Mangalia, Tusda-burun, and Custendjeh, places of minor importance, as all landing there would be impossible if the Turks are at all watchful.

We have already seen that, to the south of Varna, and on the side of the Bosphorus, are Bourgas, Sizeboli, Agreboli, Inada, and Aridia, places of considerable importance, protected by small divisions of the Turkish fleet, and by garrisons of land troops.

The most important post on the Asiatic coast of Turkey is Trapezunt (Trebisonde), forming the central point for the defence of the whole coast of Anatolia. This port is also very important on account of its situation, and forms the key to Armenia, a country which is of double interest on account of its vicinity to Trans-Caucasia. The Turks have done everything to place this town in a respectable state of defence. The city walls, outworks, and citadel, have been carefully completed under the superintendence of European engineers.

Equally important is Batoum, on the borders of Armenia and of Mingrelia, which is now subject to Russia. It forms the focus of the corps of operations destined to act against Russia in the Western Caucasus and on the coast. Batoum is a fortified seaport, with a tolerably good harbour, and the Turks are reported to have neglected no precautions in order to secure it to the uttermost against a hostile attack on the part of the Russians.

Nor must we omit Sinope, a name immortal in Greek story as the birth-place of Diogenes, and ever glorious in the annals of Turkey as the scene of Ottoman gallantry and heroism, and of Muscovite treachery and cowardice. Sinope is an imperfectly fortified seaport town, situated partly on a promontory; it is reported to have been very flourishing in ancient times, but at present it scarcely reckons 10,000 inhabitants; nevertheless it is one of the best ports on the coast of Anatolia, and is peculiarly important, as it commands the entrance into the western parts of Asia Minor on the side of the Euxine.

But the great centre of interest in this part of the world is the beautiful and valuable strait uniting the Black and the Mediterranean Seas, broken in its centre by an expansion of water called the Sea of Marmora. The first section of the strait is named the Bosphorus; it begins at Poivos, which lies on the Asiatic coast, and passes by Constantinople, the capital of the whole Empire, the seat of government, and residence of the Turkish sovereign, which is built at the other end of the strait, where it meets the Sea of Marmora. The whole of the Bosphorus is about eighteen miles in length, and its width, at the narrowest place, between Therapia and Balta-Liman, where Darius threw his bridge across it, is 2800 feet.

Constantinople is greatly exposed to an attack on the side of the Bosphorus, which separates two hemispheres, and whose navigation is favourable to ships coming from the Euxine through its deep and strong current. Hence the rulers of this fairy city have always been

very careful to secure it against a hostile fleet by strong forts commanding the straits. At one period these approaches were greatly neglected, owing to the indolence or apathy of the Government, but, at a more recent date, their value has been more appreciated, and they have been repaired and greatly improved. The two strongest forts on the Bosphorus are Roumili-Hissari, on the European, and Anadol-Hissari, opposite the former, on the Asiatic side. Both command the Bosphorus at its narrowest place; they are very strongly fortified on the sea side, but they are exposed on the land side. Attempts have been made lately to remedy this state of things by field-works, &c., but Austrian strategists are of opinion that they could not hold out long, as they are commanded by the neighbouring heights.

A similar strait to the Bosphorus, called the Dardanelles, unites the Sea of Marmora with the Archipelago. It is proper to remark, however, that the Dardanelles are generally wider, and decidedly longer than the Bosphorus, their length being thirty miles. They are also protected from the danger of foreign intervention by three castles, two of which are situated opposite each other, half-way down the straits, and were built by Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople, whence they are styled Eski-Hissari, the old castles.

Some security is given to the exposed situation of Constantinople by these fortified straits, which lead from both sides into the Sea of Marmora. In both cases the forts and batteries are placed under a special commandant, who has the title of Brigadier-General. The batteries on the Bosphorus are commanded by Hassan Pacha, and those on the Dardanelles by Rustem Pacha.

Before leaving these lovely coasts, we shall remark that Beicos Bay is situated on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, nearly opposite Buyukdere. On the charms of the Bosphorus we cannot dilate. Suffice it to say that, like the Bay of Naples, it is a dream of beauty.

We shall detain the reader a short time longer on the Black Sea, to give a summary list of the Turkish and Allied squadrons, beginning with the former. The Turkish marine is placed under the orders of the Kapudan Pacha (Lord High Admiral) Mohammed, and consists, at the present time, and since the massacre of Sinope, of two line-of-battle ships, of 120 to 130 guns, being probably the finest ships in the world; of four line-of-battle ships, of 74 to 90 guns; of ten sailing frigates, of 40 to 60 guns; six corvettes, of 22 to 26 guns; fourteen brigs, of 12 to 20 guns; sixteen cutters, schooners, &c.; six steam-frigates, of from 450 to 800 horse power, and twelve steam-sloops and lesser craft. This force forms a total of 70 ships, with 34,000 sailors, 4000 marines, and about 1600 guns.

The Turkish fleet is under the immediate command of the Admiral (Feriki-Bahriè) Ahmed Pacha; Mustapha Pacha is *chef d'escadre* (Kapudano), and Mahmoud Pacha, head of the marine department, and commandant of the port of Constantinople (Liman-Reissi). Under Ahmed Pacha there are three vice-admirals (Bahriè-livari), and eight rear-admirals (Bahriè-misaloè). The fleet was till lately divided into three detachments, one of which guarded the entrance to the Bosphorus; another had its station at Baltschik, near Varna, protecting the coasts of European Turkey; and the third division was lying off Trapezunt, and cruising along the coasts of Asia Minor and Circassia.

Turning to the Allies, who have hitherto used their power and influence rather to protect the Turks than to destroy their enemies, we find that their Black Sea fleets are under Admirals Dundas and Hamelin. The British fleet consists of eight line-of-battle ships, and 658 guns; the *Britannia* being the largest, the flag-ship, and carrying 120 guns. To this force are attached two 50-gun frigates, six steamers, with 85 guns, and three steam corvettes, with 26 guns; forming a total of eighteen ships, with about 1000 guns. The French squadron consists of ten ships of the line with 906 cannon, of which five have 120 guns each; four steam-frigates, with 68 guns; one steam-brig, and six small steamers; forming a total of 21-24 ships, and about 1100 guns. Dutch, American, and Spanish squadrons, were also lately cruising in the waters of the Levant.

The Turks have hitherto been prevented from meeting the Russians on equal terms at sea, but Sinope has shown what may be expected from Turkish valour if it is given a fair chance.

CHAPTER II.

DIRECT SEAT OF WAR IN ASIA.

WE have now to pass from Turkey to neutral territories, claimed and partly subdued by Russia, constituting decidedly the most important and interesting territory connected with the war. We have striven, in various publications,¹ to direct the attention of our countrymen to the gallant mountaineers of the Caucasus, and to show that, if properly supported, they could speedily finish the war in our favour. We are still of that opinion, though we readily agree with certain high authorities, that so long as our German allies oppress and dictate, instead of honestly and openly helping our friends, it is more desirable to leave them alone. So long as the Germans are false to their word, and the instruments of despotism, all free men will henceforth shrink from their assistance.

Dropping these painful subjects, we shall first present the reader with a general outline of the direct seat of war in Asia.

The scene of this severe contest, which, instead of dating from yesterday, has lasted more than fifty years, is found in the splendid Caucasian isthmus, which, in a limited compass, presents all that is lovely, grand, and luxuriant in nature, and all that is noble in man. Eternal snows, magnificent glaciers, primeval forests, a fabulous vegetation, Arcadian pastures, the bravest of men and loveliest of women,—a race of heroes or of saints,—no wonder that Russia has toiled, by arts and arms, to win this promised land! And here again we have a subject to move the Peace Society with com-

¹ Russia and England. Russia as it Is. Secret and Inedited Documents. Introduction.

passion. The blessings of our last peace are lauded to the skies, whilst crimes and wrongs were going on for generations under its spotless mantle, which covereth a multitude of sins. The present war is only new to us, for noble and generous souls have wept, and toiled, and bled for freedom during that hallowed peace of which we boast so much. When shall we catch our fathers' spirit, and once more feel that to sweat blood in defence of principles is holier and happier than hugging our money-bags in disgrace?

But we must remember that though the Caucasian isthmus is the home of the gallant mountaineers, it is also peopled by the effeminate Georgians and the tamer Armenians, who do not offer such effectual resistance to the advances of Russia. It is true that all these poor people hate the sway of Muscovy, especially the Armenians, who have tasted its bitterness since 1829; but they are men easily seduced by gold, and less ardently attached to freedom and independence than their neighbours. They also inhabit a more level district, particularly the Georgians; and though Russian craft has been careful not to alienate them by too sudden an imposition of the oppressive system introduced in Muscovy, yet they are greatly demoralized by the influence of Russian priests and employes, and the use of spirits.

The isthmus we are now surveying is called Caucasian, on account of the vast pile of mountains running through it and falling into three sections. Before we consider its population, we shall cast a hasty glance at the physical configuration of this interesting region.

The chain of the Caucasus extends from the Euxine coast, on the left shore of the straits uniting it with the Sea of Azof, in a south-east direction, for a length of 720 miles, almost in a straight line, terminating in Cape Apscheron, a promontory protruding about half way down to the Caspian Sea. Including branch-chains and outliers, its breadth is, on the average, 120 miles, as it ramifies to a great extent in a northerly and especially a southern direction, where it forms a junction with the range of Mount Ararat. To the north, its outliers melt into the Russian steppes. The territories situated on both slopes of the Caucasus are represented by Russian authorities, and their friends the Germans, as forming a single Russian province, called *Caucasia*, which is divided into two parts, called *Cis-Caucasia* on the northern side, and *Trans-Caucasia* on the southern slope. These two parts are mutually separated by the main chain, and a branch-chain forms the south-west limit of *Trans-Caucasia*.

Before we proceed to analyze the interior and the limits of this so-called province, we shall examine its Euxine coast, where Sir Edmund Lyons is thought to have done good service, four months after the declaration of war, by occupying a few forts after they were abandoned by their Russian garrisons.

We have previously remarked in other works, that the possession of this isthmus is of immense importance to Russia. If the Caucasus fall, Persia and India are greatly exposed. If Europe supports the Circassians honestly and generously, Muscovy is in imminent peril, and the Crimea falls. We are glad to find that we are not alone in holding this opinion, which is advanced by Major-General Mackintosh, Captain Spencer, and Austrian strategists. The Circassian coast has very fine harbours and anchoring-places; but Russia has succeeded,

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at an enormous sacrifice of life and treasure, in establishing a chain of forts from the straits of Yeni-Kaleh and Anapa down to Anaklia and Redout-Kaleh, which are of the utmost importance in securing her influence over the tribes. This is evident by a glance at the map, for the Circassians, being cut off from supplies by water, are dependent on the Russians for all necessities that they cannot obtain among their own wild mountains.

It is admitted by all parties that Russia only possesses, throughout this line of coast, as much land as can be swept by the fire of the forts; that the communication between the forts is far from secure; and that all couriers between them must be accompanied by a strong escort. Nevertheless, previous to the present war, they effectually isolated the mountaineers from all foreign aid, and placed them in some degree at the mercy of Muscovy. These forts, moreover, constituted bases and centres of systems of operation extending into the interior, and organized to promote the gradual subjugation of the coast tribes. It must be admitted, however, that the approaches to Georgia on the Black Sea side are at all times precarious, and now hopeless for Russia, as they are confined to a narrow strip of land between Anaklia and the fort Nikolajoffsk, with the port of Poti on the river Rion, which forms, with Suchum-Kaleh, the outlet of the roads leading to Georgia. This line of approach is the only unimpeded access to Georgia for Russia, even when she monopolizes the navigation of the Euxine, as during the last glorious peace.

Reverting to the territorial configuration of the isthmus, we find that Cis-Caucasia borders to the westward on the territory of the Tschernomorski Cossacks, to the northward on that of the Don Cossacks and the nomadic Calmuks, and to the eastward on the territory of the Kirghis tribes, towards Astrachan and the Nogay hordes.

Though all the regions included within these limits belong to the government of Cis-Caucasia, they do not all belong to Caucasasia Proper, because the nomadic hordes of the Nogay Tartars and of the Calmuks are not in the least degree related to the Caucasian tribes. Caucasasia Proper is bordered to the north by the Kouban, whose numerous arms fall either into the Black or the Azof Sea, by the Piatygorsk or Five Mountains, which forms the northern outpost or outlier of the Caucasus, and to the eastward by the furious Terek, which rolls its angry flood to the Caspian, and whose source is situated on the south of the Caucasian main chain.

The Five Mountains—Russ., Piatygorsk; Turk., Beschtau—is virtually a promontory of the great Caucasian chain. It has obtained its name from the fact that it consists of four rocky pinnacles, enclosing a deep basin, from which a fifth, loftier than the other four, shoots up conically to the skies, with a platform at the top, scarcely admitting room for ten men. All these mountains are covered with thick woods, and their summits are commonly covered with mist.

These five mountains present, on a small scale, a picture of the formation and nature of the whole Caucasian chain, which consists of numerous ranges of mountain peaks, covered with everlasting snow on the top, and clothed with thick and magnificent timber lower

down. These summits are connected by intermediate ridges, and between these ranges you find numerous basins and valleys 80 or 100 miles in length, which are protected and enclosed by the prodigious natural ramparts that surround them, and in many parts yield the most luxuriant vegetation, offering a plentiful supply of nourishment to man and beast.

Though the above are the general characteristics of the Caucasian mountains, it should be remembered that these various systems follow a few great organic laws of development, and may be distinguished into three special series, two of which constitute the main chain of the Caucasus, containing the Elbrus, the highest point of the isthmus, attaining an elevation of 16,000 feet, whilst the third, diverging from the main chain, about half down it, runs steadily sixty or eighty miles direct south, sending out two secondary branches, one to the Black Sea to the westward, and another to the east, towards Tiflis. This third chain turns rather to the south-west, forming the Armenian mountain-range, and constituting the water-shed between the Kur and Araxes, limiting the plains of Georgia to the east, after which it unites with the lofty chain rising at Ararat and in Persia, and separating Anatolia from Trans-Caucasia by running first to the south and then directly east, like a long wall. The Ararat is moreover connected with the western ramifications of the Caucasus in the Anti-Lebanon.

The largest and most important of the great basins or plains contained among the mountains is that watered by the Kur, which flows into the Caspian, and known by the name of Georgia. This territory extends from the source of the Kur, in the district of Akhaltschik, on the borders of Armenia, to the confluence of the Kurgulu Tschai. After leaving this spot, the mountain table-land changes into a basin, extending as far as the Caspian, and embracing the territories of Ararat and Schirwan.

The second mountain table-land is situated at the source and along the left bank of the Araxes, between the Ararat and the southern branch-chain of the Caucasus. The third level territory is formed by the Rion and the Ingur, or Kaur, which flow into the Black Sea, and stretches as far as the central chain of the highest mountains.

The remaining mountain-plains are not known, as they are situated in the midst of the highest mountains amongst unsubdued tribes, and report adds, that these regions conceal beauties exceeding the dreams of poetry and romance, and that they are inhabited by primitive and patriarchal races, uncontaminated by the breath of civilization, and innocent of the knavery and imbecility of priestcraft and diplomacy.

After this brief glance at the physical configuration of the Caucasian isthmus, we shall direct our attention to the numerous and interesting tribes that inhabit it. The multitude, confusion, and diversity of names, tongues, and limits presented by these tribes, has given rise to an endless series of mistakes relating to the Caucasians, some of which are admirably adapted to display the erudite puerilities of European *savants*. We shall not attempt to individualize the numerous petty clans; but confining ourselves to the main groups

which have commanded interest and claimed sympathy by their gallantry and misfortunes, we shall begin at the north of the isthmus, and defer the Georgians and Armenians, as well as Cossacks, to another chapter.

The first mountain-tribe that we encounter in Circassia Proper, on the north-east of the main chain, limited to the northwards by the Russian districts of Piatygorsk and Mosdok, to the east by the Tscherschna and the territory of the Ossetes, to the west by the Abchasian and Nogay tribes, and to the south by the main Alpine chain, consists of the Kabardans, whose territory is divided into two parts called Great and Little Kabarda, by the Terek. This unhappy territory is encircled and intersected by Russian forts, and the great Russian military road from Mosdok to Tiflis runs along the banks of the Terek. The Kabardans, who have been expelled by the Muscovites from their original home, had long been reduced to a painful and degraded submission to their odious yoke, till Schamyl burst upon them like a whirlwind in 1846, and effectually shook the hold that Russia has upon them. The Kabardans are a handsome and a brave people, but long vassalage under Muscovy has greatly deteriorated their noble bearing and character. It is not probable, however, that the Russians would ever have succeeded in subduing them, were not their territory comparatively level and exposed.

To the right of Kabardah, between the Kouban and the Black Sea, extends the territory of the genuine Circassians and Abchasians, which is divided into two parts by the main chain of the Caucasus, and reaches nearly as far as the Sea of Azof. These names, however, have been used to cover a number of clans, some of which are only known by name, and whose origin, religion, customs and manners, are still involved in mystery. But to facilitate a rapid survey of the territory, it is divided, for the sake of convenience, into, I. Abchasia; II. The Adighè territory. These regions must be secondly subdivided into a number of minor districts.

I. *The Abchasian territory* is divided by the main chain into a northern and a southern part. In the former, we have to notice, 1. The district of the Baschagi, between the Great and Little Selentschuk; 2. The territory of the Abadsa, between the Urup and the Great Selentschuk. Both these tribes are free, whilst the following have acknowledged the Russian supremacy: 1. The district of the Baschilbey, by the sources of the Great Selentschuk and Urup; 2. The district of the Kyslbey; 3. The Tamm; 4. The Schagirey—all near the sources of the Great and Little Laba; 5. The district of the Bagh, near the sources of the Chods; and, 6. The district of Barakaj, by the sources of the Gupo.

In the southern half of Abchasia, we find, between the Mdsymtha and the Ingur, 1. The district of Samursachan, between the Ingur and Galidsa; 2. Abchasia Proper, between the Galidsa and the Bsyb—both these districts being subdued; whilst the two following, 1. The territory of the Dschigeths, between the Bsyl and the Ssotscha; and, 2. The district of the Sasdeni, by the sources of the Bsyl and of the Mdsymtha, are perfectly free.

II. *The territory of the Adighè*, or genuine Circassians, is situated between the Ssotscha, the Laba, the Kouban, and the Black Sea. It comprises, 1. The territories subject to Russia; 2. Bessliney, between

the Urup and Chods; 3. Mochothi, between the Laba and the Kars; 4. Jegerukaj; 5. Ademi; 6. Tenurgoj—all on the shores of the Laba and of the Kouban, and on the N.S.W. borders of the Nogay Tartars; 7. Shanè; 8. Gatjukoj; 9. Bseduch—all between the Schaougwascha and the Apps; 10. The districts of the independent tribes; 11. Abasech, between the Schapsooks to the west, the Schapsooks and Ubyches to the south, and separated from them by a large mass of mountains, whilst the Schavugwascha forms their eastern, and the Gatjukoi and Bsheduch districts their southern limit; 12. The Schapsook district, situated between the Abaseches and Ubyches to the east, bordered by the Caucasian mountains to the north, the Natchokuadsch to the west, and the Black Sea to the south; 13. Natchokuadsch, between Taman, the Kouban, the Schapsook district, and the Euxine.

Besides these tribes, the Karatchai and the Nogay Tartars inhabit this district, between the source of the Kouban and the Laba.

After giving this outline of the districts of these tribes, we shall attempt a brief account of their character, to illustrate the nature of the Caucasian war. The Abchasians are imperfectly known; but some German writers would have us believe that they are a rude, half-savage race, differing widely from the remaining Circassian tribes. It is added that they are revengeful, sanguinary, thievish, and faithless. Granting this statement to be true, we cannot be much surprised at it, as they have had such a bright example of robbery, perfidy, and cruelty before them for years, in the person of their Muscovite invaders, led on by gallant German mercenary officers. They are described as of the middle size, of dark complexion, and irregularly-formed features; and, as a people, they have more than once apostatized from Christianity to Islam, and back again. If their acquaintance with the former creed has been limited to the Eastern Church, we cannot wonder at their being indifferent Christians. As their southern limits reach the Black Sea, it is added that they were much addicted to piracy, till they were excluded from the Euxine by other greater pirates from Muscovy. Nor must we forget that, though Circassian piracy on the Euxine is very grievous, Greek piracy is not by any means unpalatable to Russia. The Russian forts along the Abchasian coast are Ilori, Dranda, Suchum-Kaleh, Bambor, and Pitzunda. A place called Sujak-sou is the residence of the Prince of Abchasia.

The Dschigeths are also accused by the German writers of being a wild, rough people, addicted, in great measure, to idolatry, living under a prince who has accepted Islam. Notwithstanding these negative features, it is admitted that they possess an unconquerable love of independence, and that even in the terrible dearth of 1844, all the temptations and seductions offered by the Russian generals were unable to bend them to submission by bribes of corn. This fact alone places this race of savages immeasurably above the drunken and corrupt population of Muscovy. The most important places in this district are Ssotscha (*Russicè*, Nawaginskaje), and Ardiller (the Fort of the Holy Ghost, in Russian), which were till lately in the hands of the Muscovites, and cut off all communication with the sea.

The Adighè are the crown of all their populations, forming the kernel of the genuine Circassian race. They are a proud, indepen-

dent, and gallant tribe, whose religion is, in a great measure, a pure Theism, uncontaminated with the puerilities or knaveries of the schools and the cloister. They are greatly superior to their neighbours, a people civilized and courteous in the best sense of the term, with a chivalrous regard for woman that might shame our practices nearer home. All the best authorities unite in pronouncing this tribe as morally and physically one of the noblest on earth. Their deeds of prowess are probably unparalleled, save in the Eastern Caucasus. The nobles and princes acknowledge Islam, but are rather lukewarm in the faith. Poetry, eloquence, and music, are a favourite pastime among them, and those who possess these gifts are much more highly respected among them than literary eminence in Europe. But then, hitherto they have happily not been infected with the love of money and of brandy, so idolized and abused in Christendom, and especially in Russia. Their attire is graceful and appropriate; they entertain a high respect for age; the sexes are modest, but easy and unaffected in their intercourse; the men are athletic and daring to rashness;—in short, they are among the most splendid and gifted ornaments of humanity. Nor has Russia succeeded in gaining a step of their territory, which is very surprising.

Between Abchasia and Turkish Armenia, the isthmus is inhabited by various tribes, with whom it is important to become acquainted, as, after a long period of slavery, they are, many of them, in the act of shaking off the chains of Muscovy. Following the coast of the Black Sea to the S.E. of Abchasia, we come to Mingrelia, peopled, according to some accounts, by the remains of the ancient Colchians, whose graves were disturbed by the Argonauts in their search for the Golden Fleece. Leaving these fables, we proceed to remark that they are a handsome, tall, but slender race of men, with much elegance and nobleness in their manners, carriage, and bearing. It is added that they are fiery, bold, and brave, fond of music and writing, and followers of the Greek Church, though their Christianity, like that of Muscovy, would scarcely be acknowledged by men of the Apostolic age.

The territory of the Suanetians is shut in between Mingrelia, Abchasia, and the main chain. It is a virgin land for future Albert Smiths—full of primeval clans, and untrodden beauties—uncontaminated by the contact of Cockneys and tourists, having retained its primitive characteristics from the earliest times. This district consists of a deep defile, watered by the Ingur, and shut in on all sides by precipitous rocks, forming, as it were, a natural rampart to protect it against Russian bayonets, German generals, and diplomacy. This tribe is hospitable, brave, enterprising and noble, though addicted to blood-feuds. Its members live in perfect independence, so long as the individuals of one family are strong enough to bid defiance to those of another family; for here, as in continental Europe, the sword has usurped the place of right. They live exclusively on the produce of their flocks, because their elevated and rugged territory is not well adapted to agriculture, and they are reported to support themselves, like the Russians, by robbing or by selling the children of their lower classes as slaves in Turkey, where their life is generally happy and easy. The different families commonly sell their

children in rotation. Their religion is described as being a mixture of Paganism and Christianity, and their territory is entirely free from all foreign rule. But as no European has visited this mysterious district, and as all our accounts of them come through Russian sources, we are bound, of course, to receive these statements as inspired.

To the south of Mingrelia, and near the coast of the Euxine, bordering on the Turkish Empire, we come to Georgia, the paradise of the Caucasian isthmus, not only as regards climate and vegetation, but also on account of the beauty of the race, the Georgian women being celebrated for loveliness throughout the East. The princely family has had the weakness and wickedness to submit to the protection of Russia; accordingly they retain nothing but their title, and Georgia is virtually annexed to Muscovy. Its capital is Tiflis, a fine city in a plain on the Kur.

The Imeritians are very closely related with the Mingrelians. They are a poor people, living chiefly on the produce of their bees, have in a great measure lost their warlike spirit, being emasculated and debauched by Russian employés, whilst all incitement to a military life is destroyed by their entire deficiency of horses and good arms. Their capital, Kutais, a place abounding in ruins, attesting its former greatness, is now the seat of the Russian district administration.

The Pachalick of Akhalzick borders the Georgian territory, and the Caucasian isthmus to the south. This pachalick, forming a part of Turkish Armenia, is peopled by a race belonging to the Armenian tribes of the Caucasus, who are rather an industrious and a trading, than a military people. Their capital is styled Akhalzikh,—in Turkish, Achischa-Kalepi; Georgian, Achate-Ziche,—and has greatly declined since it was *occupied* by the Russians in the last war, which is a very unaccountable circumstance. This town is strongly fortified, distant about ninety miles from Tiflis, and belonged to Turkey in 1829; its access being easy on the Turkish side, whilst it is separated from Georgia by lofty mountains.

We must now revert to the left side of the military high road leading from Mosdok to Tiflis, with which we commenced our topographical researches.

The territory of the Midshegs, or Kist tribes, begins to the south-east of Little Kabardah, on the right bank of the Ssunscha, and protected by the extensive northern ramifications of the Caucasian main chain. These tribes consist of the Ingusches, the Nasranians, Galati, Karabulaks, Tschetchians or Tschetschensians, dwelling in the Great and Little Tschetschnja, the Kisty, Galgai, Zori, Acho, Schubusy, Dshano, Butry, Sharo or Kialal, and the Katschilik or genuine Midshegs. Amongst these clans, the Ingusches, and, above all, the heroic Tschetschensians, are by far the most important. The former admit Christianity outwardly, but their faith, like that of the Russians, is a mixture of idolatry; they also acknowledge the Muscovite supremacy. The Tschetschensians have been formerly and partially subject to Russia, but have been repeatedly and are now universally engaged in a desperate and most galling war with Muscovy. Their territory is fertile and productive, though very elevated; the population are noted for enthusiastic faith, and an almost fabulous degree of bravery; the women are handsome and grace-

fully attired; and, lastly, this district contains the birthplace of Schamyl, a glorious name to live in history.

Immediately to the south of this gallant tribe, we come to the territory of the Lesghians, or Daghestan, *the land of mountains*, which has become classical ground through the adventurous achievements of Schamyl. This territory is limited to the east by a range running parallel to the Caspian coast, and is separated from the latter by the territory of the Caucasian Tartars.

A portion of Daghestan has always succeeded in maintaining its independence, whilst the eastern part of it is under at least the nominal supremacy of Russia, though the tribes inhabiting it seize every opportunity to shake off the yoke.

The country consists of bald, sterile rocks, broken by tremendous chasms and deep ravines, and forbids all attempt at agriculture, as well as feeding of cattle on a large scale, as there is a complete want of large pastures throughout the district. But the rocky plateaux afford the natives the means of building artificial terraces, carefully fenced by stone walls, which they convert into most charming gardens, where they grow grapes, fruit trees, and maize, which flourish splendidly in this magnificent climate, and provide them with ample means of sustenance. Yet here, where God has displayed his majesty on the sublimest scale, and where free men have toiled in labour-worship to erect a lasting monument of human industry and energy, and of Divine bounty, the armies of Muscovy have succeeded in converting the happy homes of freedom into a heap of smoking ashes, and blooming gardens into a wilderness!

The persecuted mountaineers, in order to obtain a more effectual shelter against the foe, live together in large villages (Aouls), which are built in inaccessible places, and can easily be converted into fortresses. The houses are placed close together, have invariably several storeys, and most of them are also surrounded with walls and towers. Hence it is not surprising that each step gained by the Russians in such a district must be purchased by torrents of blood. All authorities, including those most friendly to Russia, agree in admitting that, were it not for the blood-feuds dividing the Lesghian tribes, Russia, notwithstanding her colossal power, and in a time of general and disgraceful peace, could never succeed in subduing this sterile country and stubborn race of heroes. Even the eloquence and power of Schamyl has not yet succeeded in establishing complete harmony amongst them, though a great part of them have acknowledged his authority. Let the reader study this portion of our work with increased attention, as Daghestan has presented, of late years, instances of fabulous heroism unparalleled in the annals of history, and a religious movement the most important and remarkable since the advent of Mahomet.

Daghestan is separated from the Midshegs by two rivers, and is inhabited by independent and subject tribes (to Russia). To the former belong, 1. The tribe of the Ssalatan, whose capital is called Tscherkey, on the river Ssulak, which was converted into a fort by the Russians, from whom it was recaptured by the Lesghians. To the S.W. of this tribe we meet, 2. The Gumbetians; 3. Andi; 4. Kois-subu, whose chief village, Himri, is the birthplace of Schamyl, and

the fortresses Unzukul, Belokany, and Juron, on the River Koissu; 5. Avaria, inhabited by one of the bravest tribes in the country, surrounded on all hands by mountains, embracing magnificent valleys, with a chief aoul called Chunsach, and the forts Maksok, Satanych, and Chotsatl, which have been recovered from the Russians.

Besides these, the highest part of the chain is inhabited by the tribes of Dido or Zunta, Kaputscha, Anzuch, Ankratl, Karach, Achwach, Bagulai, and many others, little if at all known. In fact, a graceful and magical veil of mystery hangs over the wilds and snows of the mighty Caucasus, and many of its sons, whose names have not even reached our ears.

CHAPTER III.

HADIS ISMAIL.—MILITARY LINES AND TURKISH ARMENIA.

THE present remarkable reformation in Islam advocated by Schamyl, and adopted in the Eastern Caucasus, is such an interesting and important phase of transition in the religious and political history of the East, that we must pause to consider its origin.

For centuries, Turks and Persians, Sunnites and Shiites, had hated each other with as much virulency as Catholics and Protestants. Bloody wars had resulted from the feud; and here, as elsewhere, religion, instead of harmonizing and fraternizing, had been a cause of scandal and misfortune, through the bigotry and folly of its advocates. It is true that liberal men had arisen in Persia as in Europe, who, blending philosophy with revelation, and reason with inspiration, attempted to infuse a milder spirit among the faithful. But their efforts were mostly fruitless; and Islam, like Christendom, has been too commonly the parent of sectarian intolerance, though the Moslems never endured an inquisition, or suffered hypocrisy to triumph over honesty. Nevertheless, Sunnites and Shiites entertained a most unedifying hatred of each other, which was often fomented by Russia for ends best known to herself. At length, and for the first time since the Hegira, a successful movement became manifest among the snows and wilds of the Caucasus, aiming at a fusion of the rival sects. Nursed by solitude and meditation, and cradled among the sublimest scenes in nature, the new system partakes of the elevation and beauty of its birth-place.

Though a natural result of the Sufi sect of mystical philosophy, introduced into the Caucasus by the Persians, it appears to owe its definite shape chiefly to one remarkable Alim, or lawyer priest, named Hadis Ismail, residing at the aoul of Ku-doviur, in the Caucasus. This remarkable man had fostered the seeds of a new and a milder faith in the solitude of the mountains, and had become a subject of wonder and fear to his neighbours by his learning and his fearless violation of several trivial regulations of the Koran.

At length some pious Mollahs paid him a visit, to inquire into his ways and views; and after entertaining them hospitably, performing

his ablutions, and regaling them with pipes and coffee, the Alim fell into a deep reverie, whilst a livid pallor overspread his face, his eyes rolled in his head, and his brow was bathed in sweat. Anon recovering himself, he wiped his forehead, tossed off hastily a cup of coffee, and related his pilgrimage to Kerbelah, which had opened his mind to new truths.

“It was at the end of an oppressively hot day, when the caravan with which I travelled halted by a shady fountain. I sat down under the shade of a leafy walnut tree, drew out the Koran from my pocket, and began to read the *Sure* of the *Spider*, which commences with the words: ‘Do men think that they have done enough when they say, We believe, without having given evidence of their faith. We also examined those who lived before them, to find out if they were upright or liars.’

“I was immediately struck, as if the words had pierced through me; and I raised up my eyes from the holy book, and directing them to the sun, which was setting gloriously, I reflected on what I had read; and as I still sat gazing, and immersed in deep thought, my eyes became suddenly dim, and I fell into a deep sleep; and in my dream I was carried away to a large, flowery valley. This valley was enclosed by lofty wood-covered mountains, whose summits towered so high aloft that they seemed to support the canopy of the heavens. Flowers carpeted the ground at my feet in such profusion, that I did not venture to step out for fear of treading on the lovely plants.

“Dark and tufty pine-trees, shady palms, and taper cypresses, swayed to and fro in the breeze over my head; perfumes, sweeter than the myrrh of Bokhara and Samarkand, or the musk of Choton, rose up from the earth, and circled eddying round me, like breath from the lips of the houris. The songs of nightingales resounded through the waving rose-bushes; brooks resembling streams of molten silver gushed forth from the mountains, and flowed in all directions, murmuring through the meadows. Methought I was in the garden of Paradise, with its many waters, promised to the faithful by the Prophet. New wonders continually met my eye wherever I gazed. In the middle of the valley stood a temple, built of dazzling white marble, overgrown with dark ivy and luxuriant flowers and creepers; a transparent column of fire arose from the cupola of the mosque to the sun, which irradiated its beams with such comprehensive abundance as if it wished to draw the earth up to itself in its golden arms. A fountain played in the court of the mosque, and around it were seated on soft carpets, more beautifully woven than any that the foot of a Padischah has ever trod, attired in glistening raiment, the faithful of Irak and Roumelia, some in dazzling white turbans, and others in black fur caps. I was stupified at the sight; but forgetting the beauty of the spectacle, I became wroth, and spake to myself: ‘How came the damned adherents of Omar into the refreshing gardens of the blessed? Have not the wise of our people said, that hell fire will be the future dwelling of the infidel?’

“As I was standing thus agitated by doubt and fear, behold, a black pillar of smoke arose in the distance, the heavens became clouded, and the mountains resounded with the din of war and the rolling of drums. Serried masses of warriors descended from the mountains

with pale faces, snub noses, and light hair, like the sacrilegious infidels who have assailed our aouls. They who sat by the fountain arose, tore down young branches of laurel and fig-trees, and made clubs of them, in order to meet and oppose the advance of the strange warriors. Yet the small number of champions could not long withstand the swarms of enemies; they fled into the mosque and continued the fight there with renewed rage; they broke up the gold cupola and the marble walls, and cast down their fragments on the head of the approaching foe, till they had slain them unto the last man.

“Great was my joy at the overthrow of the enemy, but still greater was my rage at the destruction of the temple; for the house of the Lord lay in ruins, and its marble blocks had become the grave-stones of the infidel. ‘Is it not better,’ I exclaimed, waxing wroth, ‘that man should perish, rather than touch the Temple of the Lord with his sacrilegious hand?’

“At this moment my eyes were suddenly blinded by a miraculous splendour; a form of light floated down before me, saying: ‘O, thou fool! thou erring fool! thou walker in darkness! Foolish are thy thoughts, and criminal thy words! Thou art still more obdurate than the infidel who is slain before thee! Thou art astonished and wroth because thou seest the children of Roumeli in fellowship with the faithful of Irak; but I tell thee, God is not unjust to his servants. He punisheth whom He willeth, and He rewardeth whom He willeth, according to His good pleasure. O, Hadis Ismail! dost thou also belong to that blind crew who stick to the Word, without recognising the Spirit whose garment it is? How shall peace ever come from without, so long as the adherents of the Prophet persecute each other? You call down the curse of Heaven on the heads of the Sunnahs, and the Sunnahs fling back curses on your own heads. Woe, woe to you, if God heard your prayers! everlasting damnation would be your portion!

“‘I saw displeasure in thy heart when the warriors of the Lord tore the young trees out of the earth, and pulled down the walls of the temple to destroy their enemy; but their deed was better than thy wrath! Sooner let all woods be consumed, and all temples fall into ruins, rather than that one faithful become the prey of his enemy; for the earth shoots forth daily new sprouts, and temples can be rebuilt by the hands of man, but the temple of faith in your hearts is the work of God; whosoever destroys that, destroys himself with it, and blasphemes his Creator, who made him; and if he possessed all the treasures of the earth, he could never rebuild this system. Therefore drop thy foolish anger, and learn from what thou hast seen, and what I have said, what to do. Shame on thee and thy people! shame and woe so long as your temples are polluted by the flaxen-haired servants of the Muscovite gods!

“‘Verily it were better that you should pull down your temples, in order to bring God’s blasphemers under the ruins. Every stone with which you crush the head of an infidel, becomes a monument to the glory of Allah! It is better that one of the faithful raise his arm to slay, than that ye give ear to seduction; for seduction is worse than killing!

“‘Give up, O Hadis Ismail, thy pilgrimage to the tomb of Hussein,

and return home, in order to announce to the sages of thy people what I have told thee. Pilgrimages are modes of sanctification, but war for the faith is still holier. Every step that the faithful can rescue from the foe is better than a pilgrimage to Kerbelah; each word that a priest speaks to encourage the champions of the faith is better than a prayer to God.'"¹

This dream explains the present spiritual attitude of the Caucasus, the glowing enthusiasm of Schamyl and his sect of Murids, the numerous conversions that his faith has made, and the desperate resistance of the Eastern Caucasus to Russian aggression.

We shall not analyze the origin of the peculiar doctrines of the Sufis,² which some refer to India; but we shall confine ourselves to a brief analysis of the leading doctrine of the sect of Murids, which arose from their ecstasies, and was developed into its present form by the dreams and meditations of Hadis-Ismail. Sufism and the Murids admit three elements in man: 1. Physical; 2. Spiritual; 3. Moral. The third is the highest. They also admit of four phases or degrees of spiritual life, till you attain to perfection or union with God by shaking off all sensual and material impurity: 1. *Nasut*, Humanity; 2. *Melkut*, the Spiritual World; 3. *Dschebrut*, Omnipotence; 4. *Lahut*, Divinity. The mass of the people are in the first phase, and require guidance; thence the necessity of the Scharyat, or outer law. The Murids occupy the second phase. They require no bridle or law, for every Murid is good, because he knows that virtue alone leads to wisdom. He carries his own punishment and reward with him. He gives alms, not because the law ordains it, but because it pains him to see misery. He practises ablutions, not in conformity with the Koran, but because a pure soul can only dwell in a pure body.

The Naibs, or governors of Schamyl, occupy the third degree, in whom the qualities of the second are still more developed.

Schamyl alone occupies the fourth. He is in immediate intercourse with God. His words are the words of God. His commands are those of God. He is the sun, and the Naibs are the moons, whilst the Murids are the stars of this moral firmament.

It must be admitted that Schamyl has made a noble use of the tremendous power this system has given him; and though the mysticism of the Murid philosophy may be unpalatable to our worshippers of the Golden Calf or of the Goddess of Reason, it contains many principles that might defy the criticism of the British Association and the dissecting-room. Notwithstanding all our efforts to strip human nature of its dignity, and to make it a very vulgar thing, we shall never succeed in eradicating its spiritual aspirations, or in extinguishing its divine inspirations.

It would be doing too much homage to vulgar bigots and sceptics to pronounce Schamyl an impostor or a mere enthusiast, and we do not scruple to represent him, not only as one of Plutarch's men, but also as a Providential Man, in whom the spiritual instincts are more largely developed than in others. The purity of his life guarantees his honesty.

¹ Bodenstedt.

² Malcolm's History of Persia. Tholuck's Sufismus.

As regards his followers, religion, here as everywhere else, is the key of their strength and of our weakness. A race fighting from a deep conviction are always heroes.

Ere we quit the enchanted ground of the Caucasus, we must pause yet a while to dwell once again on the splendour of its scenery and the prowess of its tribes. The glories of Pindus and Olympus are eclipsed by the majestic Elbruz and Kasbek, and the fertility and beauty of Tempe and Delphi pale before the paradise of Georgia and the shores of Mingrelia. Arcadia must strike its colours before the pastures of the Suani, and the groves of Dodona cannot bear comparison with the primeval forests of the Ubyches. Nowhere does nature appear more colossal or more picturesque, and no region presents the contrasts of terror and softness in greater proportion. Yet such, on the testimony of Burke, are the essential principles of the sublime and the beautiful.

If we pass from nature to man, the most reliable authorities agree in extolling the magnificent *physique*, and the fine mental endowments of most Caucasian tribes, and especially of the Circassians. Their defects are chiefly the result of treacherous and ferocious lessons imparted by Russia, their virtues are pre-eminently their own. Not only do we meet with the most generous hospitality and fabulous gallantry among the dashing Circassians of the Western Caucasus, but the purest sentiments of chivalry and modesty which once adorned the nations of the West, and were unknown in the corrupt atmospheres of Greece and Rome, still flourish among this gallant race of knights.

Mr. Bell,¹ who resided amongst them a year, and whose testimony is supported by that of Mr. Longworth² and Bodenstedt,³ pronounces the Circassians the most genuinely polite people that he had ever known or read of. He adds that insanity is unknown among these happy people, and that they are so little addicted to thieving, the ruling sin of Russia, that you may sleep with your door unlocked, and surrounded with valuable property, in security among the honest mountaineers. As regards the religion of the Western Caucasus, though Mohammedanism has penetrated among them, the mass of the people appear still to be pure Theists, worshipping a Great Spirit, and a few subordinate ministers of grace.

It is true that there are dishonest, servile, and mendacious tribes in the Caucasus, but they are Christians of the Greek Church, and enjoy the immunity of witnessing the contortions of Russian priests.

A certain measure of intolerance may occur in the Murids of Daghestan, but the Russians have not hitherto given the mountaineers any special cause to esteem Christianity in their persons, and we cannot expect that men can respect those who reduce their homes to ashes, and violate their wives and daughters.

All authorities, including servile German writers,⁴ admit that the

¹ Bell's Journal of a Residence in Circassia, 2 vols., 1841.

² Year in Circassia, by Longworth.

³ Die Völker des Kaukasus von Friedrich Bodenstedt, 1848.

⁴ Der Kaukasus, &c., von Moritz Wagner. Dr. Koch. Eichstadt. Reisen im Kaukasus, &c.

free tribes throughout the Caucasus are distinguished for matchless heroism and unconquerable love of freedom. It is also allowed that the free Caucasians generally, and the Circassians in particular, are distinguished for their light, elastic, almost floating carriage.¹ There is no mistaking the open, fearless brow, the flashing eye, and the haughty bearing of this chivalrous race, which ranks prominent among all the tribes recorded in history as the impersonation of the most substantial and attractive mental and physical advantages that can decorate the inhabitants of this planet.²

Such are the men whom diplomacy would sacrifice to Muscovy, while German professors dispute about their ethnographical affinities!

Amongst the tribes subject to Russia are included, 1. The Mechtuli; 2. The Ssurgians; 3. The Confederation of Dargo, consisting of seven clans, amongst which the Akuscha are the most important; 4. Upper and Lower Kara-Kaitach, whose princes serve in the Russian army; 5. Northern and Southern Tabasseran, of which the former has adhered to Schamyl; 6. The Chanat of the Kasi-Kumucks, whose capital is Kurach; 7. Ssamur, with the fort of Achtinskoje and the Aoul of Butul; 8. The Sultanate of Jelissui, with a capital of the same name, which was stormed by the Russians in 1844, and utterly devastated, amidst scenes of horror defying all description. The young Prince Daniel, the hereditary sovereign of this district, who was formerly a Major-General in the Russian service, is now a fiery adherent of Schamyl, which speaks volumes in favour of the Russian rule. We have next to consider, 9. The district of Dsharo or Balokany, embracing the tribes of Dsharo, with the strongholds called Aliabat, Abmalo, and Lalalo; Belokany; Taly, containing three posts, Taly, Karigilu, and Muhanlo; Muchach, with a capital of the same name; and Dshinich, also with a capital of the same name. Daghestan contains, moreover, several independent tribes that we have not enumerated, including the Mazechs and Kalechs, who attend chiefly to the care of silkworms; and, lastly, the Chewsures, Pshaws, and Tusches. German authors are fond of tracing a Teutonic origin in another tribe called Kubatschi (armourers); but our learned neighbours are fond of mythical theories.

The united population of all the Lesghian tribes is estimated at a total of 400,000, of whom only 75,000 at most are subjects to Muscovy.

The territory between the foregoing tribes and the Caspian Sea is inhabited by populations of Tartar or Turcoman origin, who almost invariably acknowledge Islam. This territory is comprised between the right bank of the Terek and Daghestan to the south, Kabarda to the west, and the territory of the Kumucks and that of the Schamchal of Tarku to the south-east.

The most important place in this territory is Anderi, with the fort of Wnesapnaja. This was formerly one of the great emporia of the slave trade; and it carries on still an important commercial intercourse with the mountaineers.

The next territory is that of the Schamchal of Tarku, containing the town of Tarku, the residence of its chief, having in its vicinity the fortress of Nisowoje, on the high road leading to Daghestan.

¹ Wagner.

² Eichstadt. Klaproth.

Another important fortress in this district is called Temir-Chan-Schura, the head-quarters of the Apscheron infantry regiment. This country borders to the southward on the district of Derbend, and its prince is in the Russian military service.

To the south of Tarku we have the district of Derbend, with a capital of the same name, situated in a noble position by the Caspian Sea, and renowned for its numerous antiquities.

Advancing to the southward, we come to the district of Kuba, reaching to Cape Apscheron, and noted for its fertility. It is the most populous of all the districts, and its capital, Kuba, is built on the river Kubatschi.

The last district in this territory is that of Baku, comprising the whole of Cape Apscheron, with the town of Baku, which enjoys a fine climate, and contains a multitude of remarkable antiquities. On an island near Baku dwell a sect of Indian fire-worshippers, near a spot presenting some phenomena of spontaneous combustion in the soil.

We have still to consider the last section of the Caucasian isthmus, bordering to the west on Turkish Armenia, to the south on Persia, to the north on the main chain, and to the east on the Caspian. It is known by the name of the *Caspian Government*.

The first district in this last territory, after leaving Baku, is Schirwan, a paradise of fertility, situated in the basin of the Kur, the most important places that it contains being Old and New Schemacha and Saljan.

To the south of Schirwan, the district of Talysch is shut in between Persia and the Caspian Sea,—a very fertile territory, with a capital called Lenkoran, situated on the sea-shore.

To the south of Schirwan, and to the west of Talysch, we come to the largest of all the Caucasian provinces, the district of Karabagh (Black Garden), a territory broken by high mountains, whose population are chiefly occupied in the tending of cattle and horses, of which they have a very fine breed. The capital of this district is Schuscha.

To the north of Karabagh, to the west of Schirwan, and to the east of Georgia, lies the district of Scheki, whereof the capital is called Nucha, a town chiefly inhabited by Armenians. This country is intersected by numerous ranges of mountains, possesses arable land and pastures, and has a changeable, unhealthy climate.

To the west of Karabagh, to the south of Georgia, and to the north of Erivan, we come to the district of Gandscha or Elizabethpol, with a capital of the same name. One third of its population consists of Armenians, who are principally devoted to commercial pursuits.

To the west of Gandscha, and bordering to the eastward on Turkish Armenia, lies the district of Alexandropol, with a capital of the same name. The kernel of its population consists of Turcomans, with a superstratum of Armenians.

Finally, to the south of the last district, we have that of Erivan, inhabited by an almost equal proportion of Armenians and Turcomans (Napybaschi, Redheads). From its capital, Erivan, which was conquered by Paskiewitsch, has been derived his title of Eri-vanski.

To the south-west of Erivan, to the south of the Araxes, and bordered by Persia, lies the district of Nachitschewan, two-thirds of whose inhabitants are Turks, who have built a capital of the same name, which is reported to contain an allusion to Noah and his ark.

Georgia and Grusia occupy the central part of the whole Caucasus, on the left of the Kur, inhabited by one of the handsomest races on earth. The Georgian men are naturally brave, honourable, loyal, dexterous and agile, hospitable and kindly, but excessively indolent. Their capital, Tiflis, is the focus of all the military roads in the isthmus, and the headquarters of the Russian Government of Trans-Caucasia. The province of Karthli, belonging to Georgia, is situated to the west of Tiflis; its capital, Gori, is the centre of genuine Georgian life and manners, which have been greatly corrupted and disfigured at Tiflis. Before leaving this lovely region, it is proper to add that the fair Georgians were for ages the ornaments of Turkish harems, and have contributed not a little to add to the physical beauty often observable in Turkish children.

The system of warfare that has been latterly adopted by the Russians in the Caucasus, is calculated to attempt the subjugation of the country by a slow and steady advance. The only chance of succeeding in effecting this object is by carefully fortifying every inch of ground that they acquire, and converting it into a basis for further operations. The latter consist in preparing sudden and secret incursions on certain given points, and in surprising the natives in their strongholds with a superior force. This mode of carrying on the war has led to a certain method of strategy, which aims at surrounding the independent tribes with a network of strong and connected forts, forming a chain, isolating the natives on the one hand from the sea-coast, and on the other hand separating the tribes as much as possible from each other, so as to impede their mutual co-operation, and to facilitate the influence of the Russians over each separate clan. It is therefore important to obtain some knowledge of these chains of forts, in order to understand the war in the Caucasus.

The starting-place for all these lines is on the northern border of Caucasia, on the Cossack line near Mosdok and Ekaterinograd, whence it runs on to Georgiefsk, and Stavropol, the head-quarters of the Cis-Caucasian Government.

Leaving Mosdok, the strategic lines of this network of forts surrounding the free tribes run in three principal directions:

I. To the west, through Ekaterinograd, whence, turning on the left bank of the Terek to the south, it runs on as far as Uruchsk, lets off a branch at this place, uniting it with Vladikaukas and the Tiflis line to the south, after which this main line runs on to the west, through Tscherek, Naltschik, Bakssan, Kislowodsk, Achantuk, Ust-Dscheguta, Chumara, Tam, Sassofsk, Temirgojeffsk, Ustlaba, and Ekaterinodar, to Taman on the Sea of Azof, terminating to the southward in a tongue of land near Boghas on the Euxine. This line passes in one place through the independent territory of the Circassians of Nadistansk, near Podolks, between Chumara and Sassofsk. Hence it is much exposed to incursions from the mountaineers, who are no novices in the art of cutting off an escort, and burning down a station.

II. The second main line runs to the east, along the left bank of the

Terek to Kisljar, whence it turns to the south through Tarku, and Derbend to Baku, on the peninsula of Apscheron, running at some distance from the sea-coast. From Baku this line runs to the south-west, and proceeds on to Lenkoran, on the Persian frontier, receiving all the branch-lines coming from Tiflis, and the remaining part of Trans-Caucasia.

III. The great southern line is the most important of all, leading through the midst of the mountains, and forming the directest means of communication between Mosdok and Tiflis. This road passes through Elisawetinsk, Vladikaukas, and Dariel, passes over the Mountain of the Cross, amidst terrible precipices and eternal snows, and proceeds through Kasbek, Duscheth, and Mzcheth, on to Tiflis, which is the focus whence all the strategic lines of Trans-Caucasia irradiate.

The latter lines are the following:—1. The western Trans-Caucasian, running through Mzchetha, Gori, Ssursin, Bielogorsk, Kutais, Iloni, Ssumachatschi, Sugdidi, and thence continuing on the one hand to Anakha, on the Black Sea, and on the other hand to Chori, and all the coast-forts on the east shore of the Euxine, as far as Anapa.

2. The south-western, leading through Koda, Kalagir, Schulawery, Dschelatogla, Great Karaklissa to Erivan, Naktschewan, and near Orduba, over the Persian frontier.

3. The south-eastern. This line branches out from the former at Kalagir, and runs through Elizabethpol to Schuscha, also on the Persian frontier.

4. The eastern. This line makes a fork, one branch running through Sartashal, and the other to the north through Thelan, both meeting at Siganagh; it lets off a branch to Nuchi, continues through New-Schumachi, and unites near Szaljan with the line running south from Baku.

All these lines are connected by cross lines, serving partly as communications between the forts scattered in the mountains, and partly as channels of intercourse between the chief provincial cities. The most important of these cross lines, in a strategical point of view, are the following, which run near the Turkish frontier:—

1. The line from St. Nicholas (Schefkatil) to Ilori and Kutais. 2. The line which runs direct from the western main road from Tiflis, and passing through Surani, on the left bank of the Kur, through Azkhueri to Akhalzik, leads thence on the one hand to the Turkish frontier and Batoum, and on the other hand through Sursuna to the same frontier. It also communicates with Achalkalaka, whence there is a direct channel of communication with Tiflis, and proceeds through Zalka, along the Turkish frontier to Alexandropol or Gumri, where there is a communication with the Turkish fortress of Kars, and also with the south-west line from Tiflis, below Dschetawgla. After leaving Gumri, this cross line continues through Sardarabad to the fortress of Bajesid, near the Turkish frontier. A tertiary branch runs from Sardarabad through Etchnuadsin or Ailanthi to Erivan. Another road leads from the Turkish fortress Bajesid, direct east through Mausekent and Maku to Persia, and terminates in the Trans-Caucasian main line to Erivan and Orduba.

In the northern part of the isthmus, or Cis-Caucasia, not only do we find the main line along the Terek, but also a more advanced chain of forts surrounding Tchetschina and Daghestan, separating those regions from the independent territory of Kabarda, the Kumucks, and the subjugated tribes of Daghestan, and ultimately terminating in the great line to Tarku, Derbend, and Baku, with which it is also connected by a number of cross lines.

Caucasia is divided into five governments, as follows:—1st, Cis-Caucasia, or Stavropol, the latter town containing the residence of the Governor, Major-General Wolotzkoy I.; 2d, The Government of Daghestan, with the residence of the Governor, Lieutenant-General Prince Dolgorukow-Argutinsky, at Derbend; 3d, The Caspian province of Schemachi, with the residence of the Governor, Major-General Tscheliajeff II., at Schemachi; 4th, The Government of Imeritia, of which the head-quarters are at Kutais, is under Major-General Prince Gagarin I.; and the Government of Tiflis, containing the capital of the same name, which is the seat of the Government, is under Lieutenant-General Andronikoff. Tiflis is, moreover, the residence of the Governor-General of Caucasasia, Prince Woronzof,¹ General of Infantry. It is impossible to give the exact strength of the Russian army in the Caucasus, as the force comprising the garrisons of the numerous fortresses in that region are unknown. This army has a special staff, and forms a formidable force of itself alone. Prince Woronzof, one of the most estimable and amiable men in Russia, is its Commander-in-Chief, and Prince Baryatinski is the chief of its staff. It consists of three divisions, whose commanders are Lieutenant-Generals Kozlowski I., Von Wrangel, and Major-General Baron Wrangel II. Vice-Admiral Serebriakoff is Commander of the coast of the Black Sea, which must be a sinecure at present; Lieutenant-General Zawadowski commands the Caucasian line, and Adjutant-General Prince Argutinski commands the coast of the Caspian Sea.

It is now, however, pretty well ascertained, that there are about 80,000 men north of the Caucasus, consisting chiefly of Cossacks. The latter occupy those posts which are commonly called stanitzas, whilst the strongholds are chiefly occupied by convict regiments of infantry and cavalry, who are recruited by individuals who are condemned to serve for life as privates, on account of heavy crimes. Hence the whole Russian force in the Caucasus may be estimated at 150,000 or 200,000 men, whose head-quarters are at Tiflis.

In considering the seat of the war in the Caucasian isthmus, we must give a passing scrutiny to the frontier districts in Turkish Armenia.

Turkey only borders Russia for a short distance on the side of Caucasasia, forming a line extending from the shores of the Euxine to the south of Fort St. Nicholas and Szekwetil, running along the ridge of the Armenian mountains called Adschara, which separates Asiatic Turkey from Guriel, and Akhaltzik, which was formerly a Turkish fortress. After leaving the latter place, the frontier line reaches the border of the Russo-Armenian province of Erivan, and runs down

¹ Since resigned and succeeded by General Read.

the river Arpa Tschaj as far as the Araxes and Mount Ararat, where it meets the Persian frontier.

There are three important points for the defence of Turkey on this line, which have an extent of about 250 miles. These points are, first, the road leading from Akhaltzik and Akhalkalaka, between Murschal and Kurdkaal over the Turkish border, and passing through Sursunna, Ardahan, Urut, Oltie, and Nariman, leads to Erzeroum. This road, as far as Urut, follows in most cases the bends of the river Kur, and is protected by the fort Scheiten-Kaleh, near Sursunna, and by the fortress of Ardahan, where a branch-road runs off to Batoum, protected by the fortress of Ardanudsch.

This road presents, moreover, almost insuperable obstacles to the advance of an enemy, if an able officer command the frontier, owing to the height of the mountains, the broken nature of the ground, and the numerous defiles through which an invading force must pass.

The second important line is the road leading from Alexandropol or Gumri to Kars, and thence through Muschad, Sedwin, and Hassan-Kaleh to Erzeroum. This road is by far in the best condition, and the most practicable, and was used by the Muscovites in the last Turkish war when they marched into Armenia. It is defended by the fortress of Kars, which, as regards strength of position and artificial works, is scarcely, if at all, inferior to Schumla in European Turkey. Near Kars, a southern branch of the high road strikes off, leading over the Araxes, and uniting near the strong fortress of Toprah-Kaleh with the road coming from Bajesid, it continues as far as Hassan-Kaleh, where it unites again with the northern arm. This southern branch is covered by two small forts, Schedweran, near the Araxes, and Scheitan-Kaleh, a short distance to the west of Toprah-Kaleh. The northern branch is only protected by the small forts of Muschad and Sedwin. The most important position is the fork of the two branches at Hassan-Kaleh, which commands the defile in which the united roads run, and forms the key to the splendid plain of Erzeroum.

The third important line is that which runs from Erivan through Sardarabad and the western chain of Ararat towards Bajesid, and uniting with the road coming from the latter place, leads to Toprah-Kaleh, whence it proceeds, as before stated, to Erzeroum. But this road is impassable for cavalry and artillery, and would therefore be only available for a light corps, making diversions. In all these cases, Erzeroum forms the aim of all Russian expeditions, as it is the centre of Asiatic Turkey; and, by its position on the Euphrates, it is the key to the fertile basin of this sacred stream, and the portal to the best and safest way to India, which has been the eternal aim of Russian violence and bribery in the East.

If Turkey undertake offensive operations, the importance of these lines is somewhat changed. In this case, the chief interest is centred in the line running along the Euxine. If the Turks capture the Russian forts on this line, the Porte obtains two advantages: first, it cuts off all help for the Russian army in Georgia, on the sea-side; and as our diplomacy and our fleets are slightly careless and dilatory, it is well to be prepared for a Russian squadron at Batoum, especially in winter. But another and a greater advantage awaits the Turks if

they take these forts, which will enable them to enter into direct communication with the Circassians, who can be thus provided with the necessary supplies and ammunition, and who, not being afraid of that bigotry and weakness in Turkish men and measures which they have learned to hate in Russians and in Franks, would not scruple to fraternize with the gallant Ottomans. Batoum is the natural basis of operations on this line.

The lines from Kars through Akhaltzik and Akhalkalaka, as well as through Gumri, are only of secondary importance to Turkey in offensive operations, save in the case that the Porte could send a sufficient force to advance on Tiflis; or if the Georgians fly to arms and make common cause with the Turks, which would prepare the way for a junction of the latter with the Lesghians and Daghestanis of Schamyl.

The last line running from Bajesid is only of subordinate importance; a diversion might be attempted on this side towards Erivan, but it could only have weight if Persia resolved to make common cause with Turkey.

It is very difficult to give the exact strength of the Turkish army in Armenia. It consists chiefly of irregular troops, and contains many European officers of liberal principles, the victims of Russian and Austrian oppression.

Austrian writers give this army a strength of 200,000 to 250,000 men, which is probably an exaggeration. It is divided into three corps, the first, under the command of Selim-Pacha, operating on one side against Circassia, on the side of the Euxine, and against the territory of the Suani, Kutais, and Kabarda; and on the other side against Akhaltzik. The second corps is under the supreme command of Ismael-Pacha, is posted from Kars towards Akhaltzik and Akhalkalaka, whilst a portion of it, under Kherim Pacha, threatens Gumri. The third corps, under Ali-Riza Pacha, is advancing towards Erivan. General Guyon, an Irishman by birth, and one of the heroes of the Hungarian Revolution, is the chief of the staff of this army, which has greatly improved in discipline.

In estimating the prospects of the war in the Caucasus, we must take two circumstances into consideration: first, the desperate struggle of the mountaineers with Russia; second, the nature of the country on the Armenian border.

Previous descriptions will have shown the reader the precarious nature of the connection between Trans-Caucasia and Russia Proper. It has been at the cost of prodigious sacrifices that Russia has maintained her present insecure position in the isthmus. The most important line through the mountains leads from Mosdok to Tiflis, through tremendous precipices, and close to the desperate and enthusiastic Tschetschensians, Schamyl's tribe. If Schamyl succeed in cutting off this line by capturing some fort, and occupying Dariel or Kasbek at the top of the pass, the whole army in Georgia would be in imminent danger, as it would only have two roads open to Russia, one along the Caspian, the other along the Euxine.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that the Mosdok road runs through peaceful and subject tribes; but experience has shown how much dependence Russia can place in her Caucasian vassals. The Tschetschensians were long reduced to nominal subjection, yet they have

waged war for centuries with their oppressors, and are now the most terrible foes of Muscovy. The Kabardans have been reduced to political bondage for many years; yet, in 1846, Schamyl burst into their district like a thunder-clap, and effectually shook the unwilling allegiance of these unhappy vassals. If the reader wish to obtain an insight into the desperate nature of the Caucasian war, let him read its history, and especially its most stirring episodes, such as the capture of Akulcho, a barren rock, with a few caverns, which cost Russia 5000 men, and a siege of some months;—let him read the accounts of the battle of the woods of Itschkeri, in which a Russian army was almost exterminated, though led by Grabbe, one of its ablest officers;—let him read Woronzof's expedition to Dargo, after capturing which rock that gallant leader was nearly destroyed, in his retreat, by the bands of Schamyl, and only saved by the arrival of General Freytag to his succour;—let him read of the tremendous enthusiasm of the Murids of Schamyl, and how, single-handed, they will attack an army, and he will obtain some notion of the mountaineers of the Caucasus in battle. Such men, in the hands of an impetuous and wary enemy like Schamyl, might achieve anything.¹ Moreover, the tribes along the Koissu river and the coast of the Caspian are warlike and wild, and might easily cut off this road from Russia. Nor must we forget that Muscovy has few forces at her disposal to send to relieve the army in the Caucasus, which is separated by immense steppes and rugged mountains from the rest of the Empire.

The third Caucasian line along the Euxine forms a part of the scene of Turkish operations. These have three objects in view. First, to cut off Georgia from the Euxine. The centre of this line is Batoum, which forms an admirable basis for all Turkish military and naval operations against the west side of the isthmus.

The immediate scene of the contest between Russia and Turkey in Asia is presented by those roads which run from Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, to Erzeroum, the capital of Turkish Armenia, situated on the Euphrates. These roads lead into most fertile districts, and open a way for Russia into the heart of Asia and India. Yet it must be admitted that the whole of Armenia is, by nature, a fortress almost equal to the Caucasus in strength. We have already given a description of the two most important lines, running from Erzeroum to Georgia, by which the Turks have already advanced into the Trans-Caucasian province, in the direction of Georgia, whilst Schamyl is already operating on the rear of the Muscovites.

The line between the province of Wan and Erzeroum is of secondary importance at present, but it would become of immense moment if Persia be drawn into the war.

Much blood has been already shed on the borders of Armenia, but with indifferent results. The Turkish soldiers have displayed that unparalleled gallantry which they show everywhere when they are not held down by us; but they are said to have indifferent commanders, which paralyzes all their operations. This is greatly to be regretted, as a heavy blow struck in the Caucasus would stun Russia, and we

¹ Moritz Wagner's *Kaukasus*. Bodenstedt. Schamyl, by Dr. Friedrich Wagner.

can only expect it from Schamyl and the Turks, since British diplomacy spoils every business with which it meddles.

It is devoutly to be hoped that the Sultan will be allowed by his counsellors to appoint a commander in Armenia, who, by his energy and discretion, would be a worthy associate for Schamyl.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE GEORGIANS AND ARMENIANS.

It will be generally admitted by most scholars, that history in general is a complicated subject; but, when we direct our attention to the clans or tribes in the Caucasus, all other ethnological investigations seem clear and easy by comparison.

This range of mountains appears to contain specimens and wanderers from all corners of the earth; and fanciful theorists have here a fine field for indulging their love of invention, and building imaginary genealogies.

It is evident that we cannot attempt, in the limits of this volume, to discuss this question at large. We shall class the Caucasians under a few general heads, and give a brief summary of their history; and, as very little accurate information exists respecting the past history of the Circassians, Lesghians, and mountain-tribes in general, we shall devote most of our space to the interesting people of Georgia and Armenia.

It may tend, however, to entertain the reader, if we previously adduce a few examples of the facility with which the learned develop some magnificent theory out of an empty nothing, and how delightfully our men of the unexact sciences sometimes contradict each other.

But before we pass to the consideration of these learned theories, we shall pause to observe, that the princes of Mingrelia, who are called Dadian, trace their lineage direct to the royal psalmist David; and we are informed that all the Christian princes of the Caucasus have such a laudable desire to emanate from the Old Testament, that there is scarcely one of them who does not regard a son of Noah, or Solomon himself, as a member of his family. We shall give one more specimen of the valuable historical materials afforded by the traditions or inventions of the Christian tribes. Bodenstedt met Prince Lewan, an Abchasian, whilst in the Caucasus, and endeavoured to obtain information from him respecting his tribe, but he found that his historical knowledge scarcely extended beyond his father and mother.

After this preamble, we proceed to observe, that a patient and servile German professor, Eichstadt of Moscow, says that the Abchasians regard themselves as descendants of the ancient Egyptians, or rather, Abyssinians, because they call themselves Abene. Criticising this erudite puerility, Bodenstedt informs us that not a single Abchasian, save those who have been carried to St. Petersburg, knows anything about Egyptian Abyssinia, nor is there the slightest analogy be-

tween their real name, Apsna, or their language and that of those African regions.

Perhaps the most striking instance of erudite infatuation on record is presented in the attempts that have been made to assign an origin for the Ossetians, a Christian population of the Central Caucasus, whom Russia has kindly condescended to protect.

Some authorities represent the Ossetians as descendants of the ancient *Uses*, who were driven from the Don by the Russians in 1110, and sought refuge in the Caucasus. It is affirmed that the name *Uses*, or *Ghuses*, means *the free*, according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus and Ibn-Fozlan; hence, when these refugees settled among the mountains, they were called by the Circassians *Kasak*, which means *free warriors* of the steppe. Hence the Circassians understand, by the term *Kasak* (the same word as *Cossack*), *free warriors come from the steppe*.

Early travellers designate them by the name of *As*, or *Aas*; and it is well known that the original signification of the old Norsk word *As*, is a prop, or a pillar. But as the Northmen applied the same term *As*, subsequently, to denote gods possessing the qualities of gifted men, it is insinuated by our ingenious friends that the same term might have also been used to describe a warrior, who is a pillar to himself.

In the Russian annals, this race is styled *Jassi*; the Georgians call them *Ossi*, which is evidently only another form for *Usi*, or *Uses*; hence the name *Osses*, or *Ossetians*, universally adopted by all except the nation to whom it is applied.

The sanguine advocates of this theory assert that the connection of the words *Uses*, *Ossi*, *Jassi*, *Kasak*, *As*, and *Aas*, is obvious and undeniable.

An additional evidence in favour of this view is instanced in the fact, that a number of proper names of men, now in common use among the Ossetians, are precisely identical with those of the *Uses* and *Polouzes*; hence the Ossetians are the *Uses* and *Polouzians*.

This is all nonsense, rejoins another sage; for, in the first place, it is impossible to place the first advent of the Ossetians in the twelfth century, because they are described in Georgian history as being there long before the birth of Christ; and, secondly, they cannot be the descendants of the *Uses* and *Polouzians*, because the latter natives are avowedly of Turkish origin, whereas the language of the Ossetians has not the slightest resemblance with the Turkish or Tartar. Thirdly, and finally, nothing is proved by the resemblance of the proper names, because the same occur among other tribes of the Southern Caucasus, who have as little affinity with the Ossetians as the Germans with the Calmucks.

The advocate of this view proceeds to advance that the name *Uses* has been preserved in that of *Usdens*, applied to the Circassian nobles, who correspond much more correctly to the meaning of the names *As* and *Kasak*, by their bravery and love of liberty, than the effeminate and enervated Ossetians.

The final syllable *den* in *Usden* is nothing more than the Turkish post-position *den* or *dan*, meaning the same thing as our *of*; hence *Usden* means simply *of the Uses*, i. e., the descendants of the *Uses*.

Our ingenious friend adds, that the present *Ossetians*, or *Jassi*, are of

pure Slavonic origin, and the same people as the Iazygen (*Ἰαζυγες*) of Strabo. It is impossible to resist the analogy of the words Jassi, Jazyg, or Iasyg; and Niebuhr, besides a host of Russian writers, has proved that the Iazygs were genuine Slavonians. The root of their name, Iazyk (Russ., *the language*) corresponds exactly to that of Slowo (*the word, the speech*), whence has come the word Slowenes, meaning (*the speaking*), contrasted with Niemtsi (*the dumb*), a name for Germans and foreigners in Russia; *ergo*, the Ossetians are pure Slavonians!

A third investigator starts up and informs us that the Ossetians are neither of Turkish, nor of Slavonic, but of pure Germanic origin. They are the descendants of the Germanic Alani, who, driven on by the Huns, fell many times into Armenia, and settled ultimately in the Caucasus. It is most probable that they are the same whom Dionysius Periegetes describes as the race of the Alani, rich in horses. They occur in the works of several earlier travellers, where they are described by the name of *As*, which must surely be connected with the *Ases*, and signify the excellent, the brave. It is rather unfortunate for this theory that the Ossetians are more remarkable for knavery than any of their neighbours, save the Russians. However, our learned friend admits that they are quite ignorant of any relationship with the *Ases*, nor are they aware that they are called Ossetians; for they call themselves, in their own language, Iron, or Arians,—a word which, though of a different derivation, has the same signification as Ossetians. Hence it is clear that the Ossetians are genuine Germans! We would only add, that if the above author's logic is proved conclusive, our neighbours have reason to be proud of this affinity. But we have not yet exhausted the subject.

A fourth goes farther than his predecessors, and finds a striking resemblance between the Ossetians and the Thuringians. The Ossetians, he argues, prepare a beverage resembling beer, the Thuringians brew real beer. The Ossetians are strong and powerfully built, the Thuringians the same. There are many blue-eyed maidens among the Ossetians,—nor are there fewer among the Thuringians. The Ossetians put straw in their shoes in winter,—a practice still in force among the Thuringian peasants; hence the Ossetians are the same people as the Thuringians!

From these specimens, the reader will perceive what an amount of penetration and learning has been directed to ascertain the origin of this important and gallant tribe. A German writer of eminence and ability justly adds, that it is remarkable that no one has thought of connecting the Ossetians with the Irish, the root of whose name is *Ir*, in both cases. The Ossetians celebrate in song the hospitality of their sires; the Irish do the same: flaxen hair abounds among both, and a number of other traits occur, sufficient to establish the Irish origin of the Ossetians in the eyes of the erudite world.

To show the value of reasonings such as these which have now been presented to the reader, we will attempt to elucidate the principle on which they are based:—

$$A=AB, \quad B=BC, \quad \text{therefore } A=B.^1$$

¹ Bodenstedt, Klaproth, Moritz Wagner, Eichstadt, &c.

It seems to be the general opinion of the best authorities, that many, if not most of the tribes of the Caucasus, are the descendants of those who held them in classical antiquity and during the Middle Ages, and that they may be commonly regarded in the light of Aborigines. As, however, very few important revolutions or striking characters are recorded, or can be ascertained in their annals, we shall devote our principal attention to Georgia and Armenia, simply observing that the Caucasus appears to have been in all ages the home of liberty and independence, and a barrier to the sanguinary aggressions of despots and destroyers.

The Georgians belong to the race of Kartwell, comprising the Ime-rians, Gurians, Mingrelians, and Suani. These formed a confederation, with the Georgians as the head and centre of the body corporate. The languages spoken in this confederation are also affiliated, whilst that of Georgia is the purest and prevailing idiom. At the most flourishing period of its history, the tongue and the influence of Georgia extended from the Black to the Caspian Seas, and from the Terek to the Araxes.

The history of Georgia and its dependencies, like that of most Christian countries, is a perpetual series of wars and devastations. Art and science could only attain a partial development under these circumstances, and the ruins of old palaces and temples attest the transient prevalence of more humanizing influences during a remote and cursory period.

Hence these lovely regions have remained for ages a wilderness and a poor-house, though blessed with the most magnificent climate and soil, and conversant with Christianity for many centuries.

The chief indigenous source of our information respecting Georgia, is a great chronicle drawn up by a vassal-king of Georgia, Wachtang V., in the last century, at Moscow. It contains extracts from the archives of two Georgian monasteries, forming seventy long, dry chapters, written in a jejune, monkish style.

Based on legends, and devoid of criticism, this chronicle is a mixture of fable and truth. As little reliance could be placed on such an authority, several Orientalists have gathered the scattered statements of Persians, Arabs, and others, respecting Georgia.

The Georgians, like most nations, thinking themselves a Celestial Empire and a flowery people, carry back their origin to the creation. King Wachtang, in his chronicle, relates that 1792 years after Adam, Tharmagoss lived 600 years on Mount Ararat, and was the father of eight sons, amongst whom we find Hhaoss, the parent of the Armenians; Karthloss, of the Karthutha (Georgians); Lekoss, of the Lesghians; Kawkasstha, of the Caucasians, &c.

It is probable that the series of Georgian kings has never been equalled in length, save on paper and in China. It begins 3233 years after Adam with King Thagamoss, and terminates with King George XIII. of glorious memory, who made a present of his crown and country to Russia.

Without attempting a list of these worthies, we shall pause at the two great epochs of Georgian history: first, the introduction of Christianity; second, the reign of Queen Thamar.

Christianity was introduced in Georgia A.D. 320, under King Mirian

II., by a virgin from Constantinople called Nino, who is said to have worked many miracles. The virgin was followed by an Archbishop Eustathius, who converted the nobles, who were soon followed by the people. Contrary to the usual routine, Christianity was not much opposed here, and was not ushered in amidst smoking ruins and battle-fields.

Georgia was at that period a considerable state. The first cathedral, founded soon after, still remains one of the noblest ruins of the isthmus. This blooming country was next overran and laid waste by the lieutenants of the Caliph Omar, and part of the population converted from a corrupt Christianity to the purer worship of Islam. Since that period, Georgia became the prey of a conqueror twice within a century. At length, under Davith III., it recovered its independence, and advanced to an unwonted pitch of prosperity. His successors defeated the Persians and Turks; and Queen Thamar—a virgin princess—conferred the greatest glory on the country. She is supposed to have diffused Christianity throughout the Caucasus, which became subsequently a great misfortune to the mountaineers, as the religion of peace, and has been always used by Russia as a plea for protection. Thamar always encouraged arts and sciences, and her memory is still venerated throughout the mountains. Her reign terminated about 1200, and since that period, Georgia has been a theatre of violence and misfortunes.

Tiflis was occupied by the troops of Genghis Khan in 1220; in 1388 it was destroyed by Timur; at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was conquered by the Turks, who also overran it again in 1722. They were succeeded by the Persians, who subjugated the country in 1733 under Nadir Shah.

The adherence of the Georgians to Christianity, notwithstanding persecutions, might have been their glory: it became their ruin. Russia stepped in ostensibly to protect, virtually to annex, the country; and after going through the usual masquerade, this fine region has been reduced to a province of the Czar, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Queen and the opposition of the nobles. Recent results have however shown, that despite of the mild and judicious sway of Woronzof, a strong love of independence still exists in the breasts of the Georgian people, who ought to be rescued from thralldom by the Western Powers. But if they attempt to do this by diplomacy, Georgia will only change one form of slavery for another. It would be kinder in us to leave the Mohammedan Turks to protect these Christians.

After this brief sketch of Georgian history, we shall give another outline of the annals of the Armenians, one of the most important races in Turkey and in the Caucasus. The historian will ever deplore that the greatest blessing of man has so often proved an evil through the perversion of priests. The introduction of Christianity among the Haigk¹ led to the political ruin of Armenia. The gentle teaching of Jesus, instead of inflaming them with the love of slaughter and plunder, like the amiable Russians, extinguished the military spirit of the Armenians, and converted them, like the Germans of to-day, into

¹ The ancient name of the Armenians.

timid and not over-scrupulous traders. Few nations have united military fierceness and brutality with commercial leniency. Such a holy alliance has been reserved for the Muscovite.

Christianity was introduced in Armenia, under King Tiridates, by St. Gregory, A.D. 302. Tiridates, like Paul, from a fierce oppressor, became a zealous advocate of the new reform.

In 406, a new alphabet was introduced, and the Bible translated, but Christianity here, as elsewhere, soon degenerated and became mixed with fallen and frivolous forms. About 451, soon after the Council of Chalcedon, the Armenians separated from the Greek Church, maintaining that Christ had only one nature, and that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father alone. They also maintained the grievous and scandalous heresy, that sins are not eternally punished in the other life. In addition to these deplorable errors, they advocated some puerilities, which, unlike those of the Greek Church, were generally harmless.

It is also our painful duty to add, that the Armenians admitted a mixture of dogmas and fictions from the sublime system of Zoroaster, and the beautiful mythology of Greece, to steal into their Christianity. As these heresies were evidently the offspring of the Devil, or of the subjective I, and not the relics of a primitive divine tradition, the alliance was unnatural and odious. This mixture still remains. Thus, on a certain day, a feast is still celebrated, which was formerly devoted to the God of Fire, Mihr. The ceremony consists chiefly in an offering of corn, laurel, grape-sticks, &c., with incense in a copper vessel. Young married couples are commonly the officiating priests. The bishop and clergy share in the solemn ceremony, and the people accompany them with lighted tapers. Many prayers and much singing are also offered up on the occasion.

The sun is said still to be worshipped by the peasants, under the name of Arek, Arekagu, Arew. At all events, it is certain that throughout Armenia the sun is more revered than in other Christian countries.

Anahid, the Goddess of Strength and Wisdom, the Source of Fertility and Guardian of Women, was another Armenian divinity. Their most beautiful festival was in her honour, and its most material features have been preserved to this day, under a different name. It was usual on this occasion to adorn the temple and image of the goddess with roses and flowers, and all who took part in the ceremony wore garlands of roses. This festival of flowers is still observed at Easter.

Persia was always the most dangerous enemy of Armenia in the past, as Russia is now. Fidelity and honesty were once the characteristics of the old race of Haigk, but they have now disappeared, and made way for duplicity and cunning, forced upon them, as upon the Jews, by ages of injustice and oppression. We must also distinguish the Armenian trader abroad, and the Armenian peasant in Armenia. The former has no country, and obtains nothing but money and contempt. The latter retains many traces of his fathers' virtues.

Religious persecution of the Armenians led to their frequent emigration. The Mogul invasion in 1262 drove many to Astrachan and Kazan. Ivan the Cruel granted them some trading privileges, and

they were encouraged to colonize and trade in Russia. Subsequent Czars increased their privileges, till they came to monopolize most of the trade of Southern Russia. The colonies of Armenians in the Caucasian isthmus and Russia, though they have retained their fathers' traditions, are in most respects entirely Russianized.

They have lost all spirit and all noble aims, and they are a money-loving, cunning, intriguing race, like some Germans, and have proved useful instruments of Muscovite aggression. The last war with Persia gave to Russia Etchmiadzin, the seat of the primary of the Armenian Church, a very important advantage, which was counterbalanced, however, by the treachery and cruelty with which a large body of Armenians were treated by Russia, who forced them to emigrate into the Muscovite territories, and then left them to starve, after having devastated their homes and churches in Turkish Armenia. The memory of this perfidy and Christian equity will not soon be effaced, and has converted the Armenians into inveterate foes of Russia.

The number of all the Armenians living under Russian rule amounts to 400,000. Russian Armenia forms two provinces,—Erivan, with 500 villages and 80,000 inhabitants, and Nachtschewan, with 194 villages and 20,000 inhabitants. Besides these, a multitude of Armenian colonies make up the balance of 400,000.

These districts, which were khanats of Persia, were given up by the latter country at the Peace of Toorkmantschai, after the successful campaigns of the Russians under Paskiewitsch.

The compulsory transportation of 70,000 Armenians into Russia, from the vicinity of Erzeroum, occurred after the Turkish war of 1828-29, and is recorded by Curzon and Frazer.

CHAPTER V.

THE CRIMEA AND THE COSSACKS.

THE Crimea and the Malo-Russian, but especially the Cossack territory, were, till lately, partially or totally independent of Russia; and though they are no longer neighbours of, but incorporated in, Muscovy, we must give a short analysis of their condition to appreciate the war.

Russia Proper, Great Russia, or Old Muscovy, the heart of the Empire, constitutes a region of moderate dimensions and population, surrounded by numerous rings of enslaved tributary or protected neighbours, forming a sliding-scale of misery. Lithuania, Livonia, the Kazan territory, and Ukraine, were among the first victims of Muscovite snares, and have long formed an integral part of the Empire. Poland, till a recent date, was a tributary and dependant monarchy, after it had been basely robbed of its finest provinces; and many Circassian and Tartar tribes, together with the Fins, are at the present moment semi-independent tributary states, governed partially by their own administration, whom Russia is preparing, by

a steady and fatal system of corruption and demoralization, to become helpless victims in her claws. We shall not attempt to enumerate the list of countries protected by Muscovy, which might embrace some happy constitutional regions, which would be highly astonished to hear that they were in such a satisfactory position. Several of these happy nations will be surveyed in the next part. Meanwhile we shall give a passing scrutiny to the Crimea, the Cossacks, and Finland, all intimately connected with the present struggle. Moritz Wagner does not scruple to attribute the great military successes of Russia chiefly to her Cossacks. All authorities agree that the conquest and occupation of the Crimea and Sebastopol by Russia has placed Muscovy at the door of Constantinople, and at the threshold of Universal Empire. With regard to Finland, we need scarcely repeat that it once formed the better half of Sweden, which is as much interested in its recovery as Turkey in that of the Crimea.

All Englishmen who retain a sense of right, must feel ashamed of the disgraceful apathy or treachery of German arms and councils in 1854. Granting that Sebastopol be impregnable by sea, it is not so by land. Instead of leaving a splendid army to embarrass the Turks on the Danube, why did they not *march on Odessa*, and cut off all communication by the Straits of Perekop? And why, instead of disgusting Schamyl by coercing Turkey, have they not supplied him with ammunition, money, and an auxiliary force placed under his orders? By those means we should have pounced on the Crimea and carried Sebastopol at a blow. Though we may not admire the perfidy and cruelty of Russian strategy, all might take a lesson in speed from the massacre of Sinope.

But the cause of our delays and Russia's impunity is obvious, for facts are speaking. Does the intelligent reader seriously believe, after comparing the temporizing language of the Austrian Ministry with the sloth and blunders of their armies, that the object of their Government is to strike a blow against Russia? Is this the mode in which they carried on the contest with Napoleon? And if our present antagonist were France, does the reader believe that their diplomacy would be so condescending, and their armaments so cautious?

We have now the opportunity of retrieving the error and sins of generations, and of sparing misery and mischief untold in the future. Taxes and burthens are thickening upon us; the future looks dark; and unless our councils are directed by decision and judgment, we shall be forced to close the present contest in penury and disgrace.

We shall now pass to a brief survey of the Crimea, which ought and might *easily* be a material guarantee of the future moderation of the Russian Government. The Crimea belongs to the government of Taurida, and contains the districts of Sympheropol, Eupatoria, Theodosia, and Perekop. Its population consists of 190,000 souls, being chiefly Nogay Tartars, who, though they have been treated by the Russian Government with mildness, from motives of policy, are far from disinclined to be restored to the paternal and Mohammedan rule of the Sultan. As regards a protectorate of the Western Powers over the Crimea, they would probably prefer to remain as they are; and this would be right, as their case would be hopeless if abandoned to diplomacy.

The Crimea is separated into two parts by a range of hills, of which the Tschatir Dag is the highest. The south-east slope on the Black Sea presents delicious valleys, covered with the palaces and estates of the Russian nobles, and yields all the most delicious and fragrant fruits and flowers of southern latitudes. The hills are intersected by lovely pastoral valleys, inhabited by peaceful Tartar tribes; and the centre and northern slope of the peninsula consists of arid steppes, stretching away to the Putrid Sea.

On the southern coast, at Balaklava, near Sebastopol, we encounter some of the most interesting remains of Christian antiquity in existence. At a time when the orthodox Church, with its usual tolerance and charity, was persecuting all sects that strove to preserve the apostolic purity of our religion, it is supposed that multitudes of Arians sought refuge in the Crimea, where they made immense excavations in the hills, presenting churches, dwelling-houses, and forts. Like the Pilgrim Fathers of other days and climes, they crossed the seas to worship God in peace and freedom, and these hollow mountains and subterranean churches, though solemnly silent, preach the eternal truth of the sublimity and the baseness of human nature.¹

Another interesting feature of the Crimea is a sect of Karaite Jews, who have preserved the faith of their fathers in its purity from the earliest ages, rejecting all the canons of the Old Testament save the Pentateuch. They are conspicuous for the strictness of their practices and the purity of their lives. Whether we admire or deplore the peculiarities of their faith, we cannot refuse our esteem for a sect who are distinguished for the cardinal virtues of godliness and cleanliness, which have not always been the chief characteristics of the tribe of Judah.

We now come to Sebastopol, the centre of all interest in the Crimea. The French literati, who wrote under the influence of Prince Demidoff's gold, inform us² that few ports are finer than Sebastopol. It is not encumbered with dangerous rocks or shallows; once within the gulf, four coves are before you, so safe, that in one of them called the Bay of Vessels (*Corabelnaya-boukhta*), three-deckers can anchor within a few fathoms from the shore. The town of Sebastopol, formerly called Ak-Tiar, is built between two of these coves. It is built in regular streets, up the side of a steep declivity. The neighbouring rocks are white, and reflect the glare of the summer's sun in a painful manner. The cathedral is an elegant edifice, and there is one shady street running parallel to the port. The population of Sebastopol is from 30,000 to 40,000, including soldiers, sailors, &c. The stones of which the town and batteries are built are of a porous nature, and not remarkable for strength and durability, though balls might become imbedded in them, which would be a serious inconvenience in case of a bombardment.

Sebastopol,³ or Ak-Tiar, is situated at the south-western point of

¹ Clarke's Travels.

² Voyage dans la Russie, Meridionale, &c.

³ Captain Jesse gives the following description of Sebastopol:—"The docks, five in number, are placed on two sides of a quadrangular basin, of which the centre one in the rear can receive a first-rate of the largest size, whilst two are for seventy-fours

the splendid Crimean peninsula, and forms the depôt of the Russian Black Sea fleet, the basis of Russian operations in the Caucasus, and the guarantee of the future aggressions of Muscovy in the South and East. It has undoubtedly one of the finest harbours in the world,—long, spacious, secure against all the tempests to which the Euxine is so subject, and protected against every hostile attack.

The harbour consists of a deep inlet of considerable size, which the sea has eaten into the west side of the southern point of the Crimea, and which is about five miles long. We have previously seen that this inlet is free from all obstructions. The entrance is accessible for all vessels, and is defended on both sides by works which could only have been the offspring of experience, science, and art. Their power-

and the remainder for frigates. There being no tide in the Euxine, the lock principle has been adopted. The bottom of the docks is three feet above the sea; ships are raised into the docks by three locks, each having a rise of ten feet. The surface of the water in the basins is thirty feet above the sea. Each dock is laid dry by a subterranean drain, and the dock-yard is supplied with water by a canal from the Tscherney-Raika (the Black River), commencing at the village of Tschergana, sixty-two feet above the sea. The canal is ten feet wide, and eighteen versts (twelve miles) long, with a fall of one foot and a half per verst. It leads to a reservoir at the distance of eight versts from its commencement. If the rivulets fail in summer, the reservoir supplies the dock basin. But another larger canal was constructing in 1841. This canal runs through difficult ground, and a tunnel has been cut through the rock at Inkerman, 300 yards in length.

“The material used at the dock is freestone and granite. The masonry is beautifully fitted, and all the machinery of the locks has been brought from England. A filter is used for watering the shipping from the same canal as that which feeds the dock basin. I rowed about the harbour, which is perhaps the finest in the world. It has so great a depth of water in some of the bays or inlets, that the largest line-of-battle ships can lie close in-shore. The entrance of the port is 800 yards wide; the anchorage is excellent. There are two lights at its mouth, and one on the mountain 200 feet above it. Three principal works command the approach, entrance, and interior of this harbour,—Forts Alexander on the right, Constantine on the left, and Nicholas at the base of the hill on which the town stands. They are properly batteries, in which a system of casemates has been exclusively adopted. Their construction is in this respect unique. The freestone of which they are built is soft, and the strength of the masonry questionable. The Constantine battery has three tiers of guns, the upper *en barbette*. The work is rounded at the end near the sea, and closed in the rear, and the guns on one side look up the harbour. Fort Alexander is the smallest, and has only one tier of guns in casemates, the upper tier of thirty guns being *en barbette*. This work terminates in a cavalier, three guns of which look into the harbour. Two thousand guns are mounted on the works, and there is no point of or near the harbour which does not lie under the cross fire of sixty pieces of large artillery. There is a difficulty in procuring a proper ventilation in the batteries, as the apertures of the casemates are so small, that the guns cannot be trained to the right or left. The Alexander battery is closed in the rear by a loop-holed wall and gates, that could be forced. But these forts are so completely commanded by the town in the rear, that whosoever is in possession of Sebastopol must be able to reduce the works diversely.”

Jesse thinks that we have many admirals who would dare the destruction of the admiralty, the fleet, and the works. The remaining works are in earth, save a small battery at the point near the Admiralty. There were many sick among the troops encamped near the town; ophthalmia is common among them, as well as cataract, and there were 4000 sick among 14,000 men. The expense of the works was estimated at that time at 500,000 roubles.

ful artillery can easily sweep and rake the whole breadth of the inlet with a cross fire. These works consist of several forts, containing altogether eleven batteries, with about 1500 cannon of large calibre.

The bay of Sebastopol presents to the southward four spacious coves, which are so accessible and so deep, that, as previously observed, the largest ships can embark and disembark troops immediately from the shore, and without the intervention of boats.¹ The whole Russian fleet is now in this bay, as its gallant commanders are evidently afraid to attack Turks or Christians, save at the disadvantage to the latter of three against one.² This glorious fleet of Muscovy, which, since the massacre of Sinope, has shown itself the mirror of chivalry, consists of the following three-deckers:—The holy Twelve Apostles, the great Prince Constantine, Paris, and Three Holy Priests, each mounting 120 cannon, which towered above the Turkish frigates at Sinope like cathedrals above cottages. There are also the three-deckers, the Empress Maria, Chrobry, Czesme, Swiatoslaw, Roscislaw, Jagudill, Varna, Gabryjel, Selafail, and Uriel, of 84 cannon; the frigates Sizopo and Kulewcz, of 54 guns, and Kagul and Flora of 44, the brig Mercury of 20 guns, and the schooners Gonetz (Courier) and Vastavvi (Sentinel) of 14 guns, and the cutters Speschni (the Rapid) and Stryha (the Wave); in all, twenty-eight vessels and ten steamers, including two steam-sloops, the Bessarabia and Gromonosieo, each of 400 horse power. The total number of guns afloat is 1100, and the ships' company of the fleet 18,000 men.

The whole of this force is under the orders of Prince Mentschikoff, Admiral, Chief of the Naval Staff and Minister of Marine, who has obtained an enviable notoriety by his consistent and reasonable embassy to Constantinople, which led to the present war, and by the veracity with which he characterizes the massacre of Sinope as a glorious triumph.

This fleet forms the fourth and fifth divisions of the whole Russian navy; the fourth division being commanded by Rear-Admiral Novosiltski, who is also commandant of the first brigade; whilst Rear-Admiral Bukotisch II. is commander of the second brigade, and Rear-Admiral von Messer of the third; Vice-Admiral Nachimoff, the chivalric hero of Sinope, is the commander of the fifth division, and he has under his orders Rear-Admiral Panfiloff, who commands the first, Rear-Admiral Tsebrikoff II. the third, and Rear-Admiral Ssiritsin, the second brigades. By the usual organization, one three-decker of large size, eight three and two-deckers, six frigates, one corvette, and four smaller craft, belong to one division. The actual number of ships does not, however, correspond with this organization. It is proper to add that the ships are built of green timber, owing to the rascality of Russian employés, and they are also much injured by the teredo, or Black Sea worm.

The Navy Bay, which is the most important of all, is situated in the southern part of the bay, and lies to the eastward of Sebastopol;

¹ Notes of a Half-Pay, p. 136-7.

² The pleasure excursion of the Vladimir may be thought to refute this, but the gallant Captain was a Greek, and his honest countrymen, to their other virtuous qualities, add that of being clever spies.

whilst the Artillery Bay, which is also very important, is situated to the westward of the town. The entrance into the whole harbour is protected by Fort Constantine, to the north of the roadstead, and by Fort Alexander, at the south side of the entrance, whilst the batteries of Paul and of the Admiralty have to defend the southern bay, situated to the eastward. Each of the above-mentioned forts consists of three storeys of batteries, whose construction is, however, maintained by many judges, to be exposed to serious defects, being situated so high that point-blank shots from them could only hit the sails of ships attempting to force the entrance. It is even affirmed that the material used for their construction is not adapted to the object, as they are built of a soft, calcareous stone, as previously observed, which has led to the unfortunate result, that, when the guns in Fort Constantine have been fired, the walls have been split into large chinks.

We have next to direct our attention to the Cossacks, who were for ages the formidable opponents of the Nogay Tartars, and, indeed, of all their neighbours.

The early history and etymology of this race is a problem and a mystery, but it appears to be ascertained, with tolerable certainty, that the vast steppes and plains of Southern Russia, between the Pruth and the Caspian, have been, from time immemorial, the home of roving vagabonds, of various origin; in most cases, the victims of oppression, or the dregs of various populations.

The term *Kosak* seems to have had a comprehensive generic signification, identical with *Nomad*, and expressive of their mode of life.

The limits of Old Russia extended southwards only to the mouth of the Sala in the Dnieper, and the Pruth. Beyond this frontier began the tents of the hordes of the steppe, known by the name of Polowzians, Chazars, &c., formidable enemies of the Russian Grods, or fortified towns and villages.

The Tartar conquest added to the distress of the Russian border, and multitudes of men were driven to a wild and wandering life: thus was the number of Kosaks, or Nomads, increased. The country on the Don, and the territory behind the waterfalls of the Dnieper, became their special home.

Multitudes of refugees, belonging to different nationalities, including Tartars, Polowzians, Circassians, Kalmuks, Russians, and Lithuanians, came to swell the general Cossack commonwealth, which soon fell into two marked divisions, the Don and Dnieper sections. The Asiatic element was predominant in the former, the Slavic in the latter.

Most of these men were eventually converted to Christianity, which they received from Kiow; and they were long members of the United Greek Church, till Russian intrigue and Polish persecution made them bow to the Holy Synod.

The race, which formed a confederacy of almost independent tribes, was long noted for its love of adventure, of independence, and of a roving life. The Cossack life had many charms for men of energy. The men who had recently been the spiritless slaves of Tartars, trembling at their beck and call, now flew with the speed of the wind on their gallant steeds, as free men, over the steppes. The prettiest girl captured in strife became the Cossack bride; his dress was made of

the costliest stuffs, captured from the foe ; his children grew up amidst the clashing of swords and the tumult of battle ; the blast of the trumpet and the song of victory were their nursery rhymes ; and they sucked in, with their mother's milk, the hatred of all oppression.

Our space will only permit us to point out briefly a few of the most stirring episodes in the history of this memorable people, the Arabs of the steppe. It was not till the thirteenth century that the Cossacks formed a definite confederation, which continued its political organization till the middle of the fifteenth century, and even to the sixteenth century. We read of Riaisan Cossacks in the fifteenth century, and of others at an even earlier date. Bands of Cossacks served at an early period in Lithuania, and wandered into Germany in the Thirty Years' War. Our Teutonic kinsmen were soon to form a closer acquaintance with these dangerous neighbours. At the end of the fifteenth century, these wild horsemen had attained to considerable importance, under the lead of Netschai, a Don Cossack, who founded the Ural tribe, and of Yermak, who conquered Siberia.

The latter chieftain was a man of such fabulous daring, and added such a vast territory to the Russian Empire, that we must dwell somewhat more at length upon his history. He lived with his band of 700 men at the foot of the Oural. Condemned to death for contumacy by Ivan Wassiliewitsch, he was easily induced by Count Strogonow to attack and punish the neighbouring tribes to the Strogonow estate. A handsome reward was promised to engage him to adopt this course. Encouraged by his first successes, he dashed away at the head of his foolhardy Cossacks into the heart of Siberia, and 700 desperadoes accomplished the fabulous conquest of a boundless territory. On achieving this conquest, Yermak sent a messenger to Czar Ivan, offering the sovereignty of Siberia to him if he would grant him his pardon. On these terms Ivan became Czar of all the Russias, a title first assumed in 1547, conferred upon him by a handful of robbers, together with an empire of vast dimensions. Such has been the history of all Russian conquests. Singular coincidence ! A robber convict conquered and added to the Russian sceptre a land now the receptacle of all the political and general convicts of the Empire.

It has always been the policy of the Russian Government to divide the Cossacks, and, in fact, all subjects and protected neighbours. Hence the multitude of Cossack colonies we find scattered throughout Muscovy, on the Volga, at Astrachan, Mosdok, and in Caucasia. The main branches of the modern Cossacks are on the Don and the Dnieper, and the latter are the kernel of the Malo-Russian or Ukraine race.

The chivalrous Zaporogians were the pith and marrow of the latter race, the noblest in Russia. Their sitsch, or head-quarters, were the island of Chortiz at first, and afterwards at the Basulak, mouth of the Dnieper. These men were obliged to observe the vow of chastity ; no woman ever entered their kurangis, or villages. Strange anomaly among Russians, and a probable cause of the prevalence of poederasty. They remained on this spot till the end of the eighteenth century.

The great variety of appearance in the Cossack tribes is to be attributed to their various origin, and the localities they inhabited. Their astonishing pliancy, and adaptation to all habits and climates, makes them most efficient and dangerous instruments in the hands of a wily Cabinet. Being a mixed race, they are inclined to mix with others. Thus the Line Cossacks in the Caucasus are a close imitation of the dress, character, and gallantry of the mountaineers.

These Cossacks are compared to shepherds' dogs, who keep in order the scattered nations subject to the Czar. A general Cossack insurrection would shake the Russian Empire to its foundation, and the history of Europe would be altered.

The Caucasian Cossacks alone would revolutionize Russia, and only want a leading head to direct them, for there is much disaffection among them, especially in matters of religion, as various heretical sects have spread widely among the Malo-Russians. But they have always wanted unity, and one head to direct them, and this occasioned their ruin. They only fought from love of strife, or for pay, not from higher convictions. Such a fate awaits all nations, who, like the Prussians, prefer Russian decorations to the glorious traditions of their ancestors.

Since they lost their independence, the gallant old Cossack spirit seems to be extinct everywhere, save in the Caucasus. The Line Cossacks have been of incalculable service to Russia in the isthmus, and, by intermarrying with Circassian girls, have become a splendid race of men. They look down with sovereign contempt on their brethren of the Don. The number of Cossacks capable of bearing arms in the Caucasus is reckoned at 12,000, living in scattered stanitzas, or fortified stations, with their families. This body of men is divided into nine chief detachments. On the left of the Caucasian line, we have, 1. the Cossacks of Kisljar; 2. the Ssemenede Cossacks; 3. the Grebenschian; 4. the Mosdok Cossacks; 5. the Mosdok mountain militia; 6. the Volga Cossacks. On the right side of the line we have, 1. the Kuban; 2. the Kavkasky; 3. the Chopersky Cossacks. Besides these, a number of Don, Ural, Volga, Black and Azow Sea Cossacks, serve in rotation in the Caucasus.

Our limits have prevented our adding many interesting particulars connected with this remarkable people; but ere we drop them, we must observe, that they once held the balance between the destinies of Russia and Poland; and if the latter country had been governed by common discretion, Muscovy would now be a limited district, and Europe safe. We might have shown that the Cossacks would have remained the safe-guard of Poland and Europe, if Polish nobles had acted up to the generous spirit of their king Bathory. Nor can we omit to state that the bloody and unnatural religious wars, occasioned in Ukraine by the bigotry of Pope Clement VIII., were the primary cause of all our present, and Poland's permanent misfortunes.¹

We must not omit to observe, before concluding this sketch, that the time was when the Czars of Muscovy trembled before these very

¹ Bodenstedt, Wagner. Revelations of Russia. The Serf and the Cossack, by Marx. The Nations of Russia and Turkey, by Golovin. Gurowski's Russia. Secret and Inedited Documents translated by the author.

Cossacks; and, unless we are very far mistaken, the day is at hand when the gallant riders of the South will carry terror into the Imperial Court again. A great portion of Southern Russia is in a mutinous state; but England does not know it.

CHAPTER VI.

FINLAND.

WE have had frequent occasion to remark that Finland constituted at one time the better half of Sweden, on which Muscovy has been encroaching, till it has gradually and ultimately engrossed the whole, and now extends its feelers to the gates of Stockholm in the Aland Islands.

The natural frontiers of Finland are the Gulf of Bothnia, the river of Tornea, on the side of Russia; the Sestra Reka, called by the Fins Rayaoki, and a line drawn from Ladoga to Norwegian Lapland.

Lyell gives it 5532 square miles, Hassel, 6402, with 1,378,500 inhabitants, whilst Lyell only allows it 1,000,000. Oldkop gives Finland 5300 square miles; Schitzler¹ estimates its area at 6402 square geographical miles, and the same population as Hassel, which would give one square mile to 215½ inhabitants.

The Grand Duchy is divided into eight governments: Neuland, Abo, Tavastheus, Saint Michels, Vigory, Kurpio, Vara, and Uleaborg. We shall here add a list of the principal Swedish ports, starting from the north:—

On the Gulf of Bothnia—Tornea, Uleaborg, Brahestad, Gamla Karleby, Jacobstad, New Karleby, Vasa, Christianstad, Biorneborg, Raumno, Neustad, and Abo.

On the Gulf of Finland, we have, Helsingfors, the capital; Borgo, Lovitza, Rotschensalm, Fredriksham, and Viborg.

Helsingfors stands on a peninsula, contains 15,000 inhabitants, carries on a considerable trade, and boasts a university, senate-house, observatory, and cathedral. Its quays are represented as the finest objects to be seen there.

Gamla Karleby, a town of glorious memory in British annals, was founded by Gustavus Adolphus in 1620, and is situated in the Government of Vasa. It possesses manufactures of sail-cloth, and is situated at the bottom of the Gulf of Bothnia. Its exports consist of timber, pitch, cooperage, &c.

Uleaborg contains a population of 6000 inhabitants, and numerous ships. It carries on a considerable trade in timber and tar, and its docks are the scene of much activity. Its port was formerly the best in Finland, but it has been recently injured by that of Viborg.²

¹ Voyage en Finlande, par le Prince Galitzin; 1848.

² Statistique de la Russie.

Various opinions have been offered respecting the origin of the Fins, who belong evidently to one of the oldest families of nations in Europe and the world. Their language, which is copious and sweet, shows that they are connected with the Magyars and Turks; and experience has shown that their interest and existence is intimately connected with those gallant nations.¹

Some writers have affirmed that the Fins are the most refined and civilized members of their family, which they attribute to their long and gentle treatment under Swedish sway. Finland was conquered in the 12th and 13th centuries by Eric the Holy, and Thorkel Knutson, heroic ancestors of the present degenerate Swedes.² It should be added, that the Fins have greatly deteriorated since their subjugation by Russian and British perfidy in 1807.³

Our space prevents our dilating on the latter page of history, one of the most disgraceful in our disastrous annals; but it will suffice to state, that Britain, by a secret compact with Russia, suffered her to violate her engagements, and pounce down on Sweden unawares. Yet the gallant Gustavus would have kept Finland, had not his unworthy commanders been bribed by Russian gold to give up Sweaborg! Disgusted and afflicted at the villanies of men, the chivalrous king was removed from this base world by Muscovite poison, or a kind Providence; and at the peace, Britain tried to reconcile the new Swedish dynasty to the loss of Finland by robbing Denmark of Norway, and presenting our gallant Northern cousins, much against their will, to Sweden. Such acts here, as everywhere, have brought a just execration on the name of Britain.

Passing to the present administration of Finland, we find that its government is represented as being according to its special laws. At first, there was a Committee of Administration at St. Petersburg, afterwards (in 1826) a Secretary of State for the Grand Duchy, who, in 1834, obtained the title of Minister, and directed the Imperial Chancery of Finland. All acts of any importance are signed by the Emperor, and pass through the hands of the Minister to the Governor-General, who is the supreme head of the administration of the Grand Duchy. The police, ports, army, finance, &c., are all under his superintendence, and he is required to see that the Imperial commands are carried into execution. He makes annual journeys of inspection, he is directed to encourage agriculture, and he is the President of the Finland Senate. All matters passing from the Emperor to the Senate, and *vice versa*, go through the hands of the Governor-General.

As the Governors are always high dignitaries, having other occupations, assistants were given to them in 1833. The Committee or Council of Administration of 1809 was called Senate in 1816, but it is only administrative and judiciary, having nothing to do with taxes or the budget. It is divided into two departments: Justice and Economy. Its proceedings are watched by a Government-Solicitor, who is doubtless also a spy. Three high courts of judicature, at Abo,

¹ S. Turner's Anglo-Saxons. Bock's Sprachbau; 1852.

² Adelung's Mithridates, vol. ii.

³ Maxwell's Czar.

Viborg, and Vasa, are placed under the law-department of the Senate.¹

From this aperçu, it appears that though Finland has been allowed to retain a greater municipal and judicial freedom than other provinces of Russia, its executive and legislative power is entirely centred in the Emperor and his myrmidons.

Finland is divided into *lagsaghs*, each presided by a judge called *Lagman*. This court only meets once a-year, and its functions are exclusively civil. Municipal councils are required to attend to matters of justice in the towns.

The code of criminal and civil laws passed by the Legislative Assembly of 1734, under Frederic I., is represented as being still in force in Finland. Capital punishments have been, since 1820, changed into corporal punishments and exile to Siberia. This applies to the male sex only; and the mercifulness of the reform will be fully appreciated when we recollect that the plitt and the knout are worse than a thousand deaths, and that exile to Siberia amounts to being buried alive.

Each of the eight lens or governments, into which Finland is divided, is administered by a landsterningh.

In 1836, all the prisoners in Finland amounted to 8440,—6573 men, and 1867 women. Of these, 2182 were convicts for crimes, and the rest vagabonds or political offenders, *i.e.*, Liberals. The population of the Duchy at that time was 1,410,400; hence there was one prisoner to every 636 persons.

In speaking of the administration of the country, Schnitzler observes,² that general laws can only be issued with the consent of the Senate; adding, that the Emperor can summon and dissolve the Senate at his own pleasure. However, notwithstanding the virtual despotism of its political government, the condition of Finland is favourable when compared with many parts of the Empire; and the author of "Revelations of Russia" does not scruple to affirm that its mild treatment by the Czars has been from motives of policy, in order to wean the Fins from the paternal sway of Sweden, of which they still revere the memory.

There is said to be no conscription in Finland, all recruits being volunteers; but we understand that a levy *en masse* has been ordered since the beginning of the present war by Nicholas.

It is added, that the taxes raised in Finland are only applied to the expenses of the country.

There are three classes of Finnish husbandmen. 1st, Crown peasants; 2d, those belonging to private masters; 3d, proprietor peasants. The first have to pay a rent for crown lands, after which they may cultivate a portion of them for themselves; they enjoy hereditary rights. The second class live on noblemen's lands, and pay rent. The first class are the most numerous.

The religious authorities of Finland consist of the Archbishop of Abo, and a Bishop at Borgo. The archbishopric contains twenty chapters, and the bishopric of Borgo has sixteen chapters and eighty-four cures or pastorates. The high dignitaries of the Church are paid by

¹ Galitzin's Voyage, &c.

² Statistique.

the State, the low dignitaries by their parishes. The Finnish is a Lutheran Church, following the modified regulations of Charles XI. in 1686.

In 1838, according to the last official census, there were twenty-four cloth factories, four wool-combing establishments, four soap-boiling ditto, four sail-cloth manufactories, three of tobacco, three tanneries, and two paint manufactories, in the Grand Duchy.¹

The Czarewitsch Alexander is the present Governor-General, and being a man of amiable character and enlightened views, is said to be popular with the Fins. But as one man, whatever his rank, can do little in Russia to eradicate the evils of a depraved system, we learn that the Russian Government, ever since the annexation, has been insidiously undermining the religion and polite language of Finland, which was the Swedish. To this end it has encouraged the study of Finnish, but especially of Russian; and the whole Duchy is being gradually and rapidly transferred into a monotonous, slavish province of Muscovy.

There are numerous Swedish settlements in the Gulf of Finland, in the government of Viborg, throughout Nyland, in Aland, and along the east coast of the Bothnian Gulf. Swedish is the official language in all these districts.²

Turning to the resources of the country, we find that oats are sown everywhere; barley and rye in all the provinces, but principally in the north, as this grain defies the asperity of the climate; wheat is not cultivated in the province of Uleaborg, but almost exclusively in Abo and Nyland. In Finland the cultivators sow annually 260,000 tons of rye, yielding 1,600,000 tons of grain.³

The mean annual agricultural produce of Finland is valued at 3,000,000 tons. Straw is often mixed with corn in making bread. Potatoes were introduced in 1762, and a good many other vegetables are cultivated, besides hemp and tobacco.

Finland is favourably situated to dispose of its produce in foreign markets. It has several ports on both gulfs, and the shipwrights of Uleaborg and Abo are justly celebrated. It has appeared desirable to give a brief list of the state of the shipping interest in Finland down to, and immediately before the commencement of, the present war, previous to which unlucky epoch it was said to be progressing rapidly. The number of merchant-ships belonging to the Grand Duchy in 1846 was 569, manned by 6890 sailors. In 1850 these numbers had increased to 998 vessels, and 12,100 sailors.

Iron is reported to exist in abundance throughout the Duchy, the soil being full of it. In 1835 there were twenty-five iron mines in active operation, fifteen blast-furnaces, and twenty-one tilt-hammers.

The climate of Finland is healthy, and the deaths amount to only 1-50 in the year. It is reported that the weather has improved latterly. The winter is long, lasting seven months; the number of bright days in the year amounts to 93, foggy 83, cloudy 189.

After presenting the reader with the foregoing series of facts, it has appeared to us that it might be a pleasurable change to step on board

¹ Galitzin.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

a steamer in the lovely Bay of Stockholm, and to explore the Aland Archipelago, and the coasts and plains of Finland, in the society of a French traveller of considerable literary eminence,¹ who will make us more familiar with regions that witnessed the knavery of British diplomacy in 1807.

CHAPTER VII.

VISIT TO FINLAND.

THE Baltic traverses a great part of Stockholm, and unites with Lake Maeler, near the Place of Gustavus Adolphus. The largest vessels can come up close to the foot of the Castle, and the steam-packets from St. Petersburg and Lubeck stop under the windows of the Prince Royal. When Finland formed a part of Scandinavia, the kings of Sweden had only to descend the steps of their palace in order to embark for a visit to this portion of their dominions, as they would do for a walk in the Diur Garden. On the spot where Gustavus III. disembarked, after a glorious expedition into Finland, the tradespeople of Stockholm raised a bronze statue of him. Gustavus III. is represented in an upright position, dressed in rather a slender costume, one foot raised in the air like a dancer, a crown in one hand, and his back turned towards Finland. Have artists the right, like the poets of antiquity, to call themselves *Vates*? And did Sergell, whilst tracing the model of this monument, read the future? Gustavus III., as is well known, was assassinated at a ball; and the crown which he presents so gracefully to his capital, was the last wreath of laurels gathered by Sweden upon a territory that had been united to it for nearly eight centuries. The two countries keep up at present a frequent communication, more frequent than ever, thanks to steam navigation; but custom-house duties, and the exactions of the police, show very forcibly the political barrier which separates them. All the symbols of the statue of Gustavus III. are thus carried out. The kings of Sweden turn their back on Finland.

After a delightful stay in this most charming city, I took my place on board a wretched little commercial steamer, redolent of butter, cheese, beeves, and oxen, bound for Finland. Our passengers were few, and not over select, but the charms of the scenery atoned for the discomforts of the voyage.

At some little distance from Stockholm, the sea widens; beneath its blue waters are hidden pyramids of rocks, and other dangerous places. Its banks are clothed with pine forests; here it dashes in angry waves against the granite barrier of some lone and barren promontory which defies its rage; there it surrounds with a crown of foam some verdant islet, inhabited by a fisherman and his family; then, as it approaches Waxholm, it again narrows. At this place there is a somewhat ill-constructed fortress, but the position is excellent;

¹ Marmier's "Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande, et la Pologne."

it commands the passage both from Lubeck and St. Petersburg, and is the only bulwark which Sweden has been able to retain against Russia since she lost possession of Sveaborg and of the Aland Isles. With the addition of a few bastions and some pieces of artillery, Waxholm would suffice to stop an enemy's fleet. This island, up to the present time, has never had such a mission to fulfil. May it ever be spared such a duty!

For a distance of ten miles beyond Stockholm, the sea presents to the traveller the most varied and most attractive spectacle. Sometimes it rounds itself into a large lake, at others it winds between two hedges of pines, like a calm, deep river. Again it forms itself on either side into mysterious bays. Here, arid sand-banks and blocks of stone, against which it dashes, and the dark forests which border it, give a sombre and savage aspect to the scene; there, it unfolds itself gaily to the sun, and reflects in its crystal basin the azure of the sky and the white sail of the fisherman. It is a magician, which changes every instant in form and colouring—it is the siren of antiquity, whose caressing and plaintive voice, restless and irritated, seduces, fascinates, or appals the traveller.

Towards evening, we arrived at the Aland Isles, and cast anchor facing the small hamlet of Degerby, to await the visit of the custom-house officers to our vessel. These islands, inhabited by a colony of Swedes, were for a very long period united to Sweden. Since the Treaty of 1810, they belong to Russia, and serve as an outpost for her in the Baltic. From the position of these islands, they menace both the centre of Sweden and the north coast of the Gulf of Bothnia. In case of war, they would form a rallying-point for a considerable fleet. Russia is fortifying them by raising bastions at Bomarsund; she will no doubt also make a harbour, and then she will possess a most formidable position opposite the whole Scandinavian peninsula. These islands, cut into deep bays, studded with rocks and dangers, are thinly peopled. There are eight churches, seven chapels, and about 14,000 inhabitants. They form one of the districts of the province of Abo. The greater part of the habitations are situated on the coast; the interior of the islands is covered with pine forests, and but little cultivated. The dwellings of the peasantry are constructed upon the same plan as those of Sweden; the houses are of wood, painted red, with a few sheds dispersed here and there, which serve as granary, stable, and cow-house. Each of these habitations forms a little colony of itself, in which the head of the family is, as in Norway, boatman, wheel-wright, and lock-smith, and his wife and daughters spin and make the linen themselves. As these dwellings are separated from each other by a distance of several miles, the peasants meet only on Sunday at church, to which in summer they go in boats, and in winter in sledges. There are no schools, neither stationary nor itinerant, as in some of the provinces of Sweden; the parents are themselves obliged to teach their children to read and write,—a duty they religiously fulfil, under the surveillance of the priests.

Several parishes are occupied by very poor families, whose only resource is fishing; others cultivate a few fields of barley and potatoes, and join to the uncertainty of their crops the produce of a few cows and sheep, the proceeds of the chase, the sale of their wood, and the

conveyance of goods. All the peasantry of this archipelago are boatmen, and almost all of them skilful, active, and courageous. From their childhood they learn to manage their barks, to avoid rocks and shoals, to guide themselves by the outline of the islands and the peaks of the mountains: they hire themselves out to different merchants, and transport wood, fish, and all kinds of commodities from one end of the Gulf of Bothnia to the other, and from the ports of Russia to those of Sweden. These men also in turn escort the mail between Finland and Sweden. It is a hard duty imposed on them, a duty both arduous and dangerous, for which the meagre salary received by them from the State is but a very insufficient remuneration.

In summer this post leaves Abo twice a-week for Grissel Hamn, and once in winter: the boat which carries it is managed by six men. When the wind is favourable, the crossing is soon accomplished. Letters from Stockholm are often received at Abo three days after date. When the gulf and the sea are covered with ice, sledges take the place of boats, and the journey is rapid and easy; but at the end of autumn, and towards spring, sometimes also during winter, when the temperature is mild, the journey from the port of Abo to that of Grissel Hamn is a very severe duty. The sea is here and there free from ice, whilst in other places large fields of it are scattered about. Ice-boats are used on these occasions, which are pushed or dragged across the floating masses, or guided with oar or sail, or sometimes propelled with hooks through the more encumbered parts of the water. Often, in the midst of the excursion, the wind suddenly rises, drives the pieces of ice before it, and carries the poor bark far away from its destination; often a thick mist envelopes both sky and water, hiding from the boatmen the route they should take. Fortunately, these men, accustomed to all the caprices of the elements, have a wonderful aptitude of foreseeing the impending danger. From the moment of departure the pilot studies the atmosphere, and can tell, by the colour of the horizon, the state of the wind, or by an almost imperceptible cloud, the weather they may expect. If a storm is to be anticipated, the crossing is not attempted; if these sinister omens are only perceived when they are already *en route*, they instantly tack about, and regain the land as soon as possible. Sometimes despatches are thus detained for two or three weeks at the different stations, and the peasants who are obliged to fetch them on fixed days at a certain place, have patiently to await their arrival. The transport of these mails, both winter and summer, cost the State less than £480 a-year. It may easily be seen how small the indemnification is to these poor men, condemned to wait for days together, and to undergo such fatigues and dangers, when the postmasters' emoluments and the expenses for repairs of the boats are deducted. They accept, however, with silent resignation, this severe task, and all the accompanying hardships.

As our peasants of Franche Comté love their mountains, these poor people love their barren islands; and it must be allowed they possess beauty of a grand and imposing character.

After the custom-house officers had inspected our vessel, we were allowed to land; whilst the indefatigable "Murtaia," not content with

her already enormous cargo, took on board several loads of wood. I entered a peasant's cottage, of a very poor but cleanly appearance, the floors of which were strewn with sprigs of fir, and furnished with a few deal chairs. At the bottom of an alcove was a bed, covered with snowy-white sheets; and the walls were adorned with some rude paintings, daubed with red ochre and carmine, and representing the two popular heroes, Napoleon and Charles XII. I was ushered into this humble abode by the peasant in the most respectful manner, and whilst his wife went to fetch me a glass of milk, I chatted with him, and asked him if he was of Finnic origin. "No," he replied, with evident pride; "I am the son of Swedish parents."

This feeling of national superiority is very remarkable, appearing even in the most destitute class. The most numerous population in Finland is the Finnic; and Finland no longer belongs to Sweden, which is not likely to recover it, save by a prodigious revolution in diplomacy. Yet the Swedes scattered in Finland remember their glorious ancestry, and are proud of their name.

This worthy peasant told me the simple and touching story of his quiet and obscure existence, presenting one of those tranquil, peaceful pictures of human life, lost like a drop in the ocean of time. His ancestors had come into the Archipelago long before; they had cut down some of the wood, cleared some land, and built a dwelling. As for himself, he had inherited a field of barley and potatoes; he had married a neighbour's daughter, who also brought him a little patrimony; "and the sea is close at hand," he added, "that is one great resource and fortune. I have a good boat, and three stout lads who fear neither winds nor rocks."

Outside this dwelling, all had a smiling and peaceful aspect. Crossing a court, watered by a clear stream, and passing some barns and a dairy, you reached a hill, at whose base the industrious Swede had established a saw-pit. The new grass had not yet appeared, but the land was sprinkled with fir-trees, and a beautiful white heifer was straying about the pastures, whilst some birds, hopping from branch to branch, were uttering their melancholy notes. Facing the island, the sea extended to the horizon; the disk of the sun, dazzling with splendour, was sloping towards a bay, surrounded by vast and ancient forests, and disseminated a golden and purple band of light over the sky, the waves, and the woods. No painter could have found tints on his palette to do justice to the colouring and shades of this broad picture, and no poet could have adequately portrayed the solemn charm and the idyllic gracefulness of this landscape.

At daybreak, we heaved anchor with a favourable wind, and sailed along among the innumerable islands that occupy the entrance into the Gulf of Finland. These islands are frequented in summer by the peasants to whom they belong, and who go there to mow a little grass and graze their flocks in the fine season. Happily, they are not inhabited by wolves, though these marauders sometimes try their fortune across the ice in winter; but when they appear, the natives, as in Iceland and Greenland, unite and pursue their hungry foes with sticks and guns. Some fall victims to the onslaught, and the remainder run off.

We soon arrived opposite the rocks commanding the river Aura,

in Finland. This is the proper limit of the sea, and large ships do not go further up the stream. The village of Backsholm, peopled by merchants, workmen, and innkeepers, and consisting of houses painted red, presents a pretty appearance at a distance. At the mouth of the river is the castle; farther up you see the naked slopes surrounding the town, the elegant tower, with the observatory, and some fishermen's huts. Entering the basin of the river, the traveller gradually perceives a double row of spacious houses, covered with plaster of different colours; at the end of the vista appears a brick tower; this is the town and cathedral of Abo. To the left are two large barracks; to the right, cheerful houses surrounded by gardens. We cast anchor near a bridge which spans the river. The *droschkies* hurried up on our arrival. Russian soldiers in long-skirted greatcoats, officers with their large epaulets, and a host of idlers, lined the banks of the river, whilst the custom-house and police officers came on board. People had alarmed me by their description of these functionaries, but I found them exquisitely polite. I had also received a doleful account of the hotels of Abo, but I found a very clean inn, somewhat crowded with commercial travellers from all corners of Europe, for Finland has a good amount of local produce, for which it seeks a market, and it is in want of manufactures. Speculators frequented it till this war, rushing with avidity like vultures on their prey. It was a new world discovered by commercial genius—a virgin forest for brokers and agents.

Abo is the oldest and most famous city in Finland. Its origin can be traced to St. Eric (1150-60), and the first introduction of Christianity into Finland. Its name often recurs in the Northern annals, and it was endowed with a gymnasium by Gustavus Adolphus, and with a university by Christina. In 1819, after Finland had fallen a prey to Russia and England, Abo was deprived of its privileges as capital, and its university was transferred to Helsingfors. The reason for this change is obvious: Abo was too near Stockholm. Abo is now a dull, silent town, full of noble families of broken-down fortune, living in the past more than the present.

A terrible fire nearly burned down the town in 1827, and it was rebuilt in a few years on the Russian plan, *i. e.*, broad streets, detached public buildings, and many stone houses. Hence Abo covers much ground, though only containing 12,000 inhabitants: its streets and squares are deserted, and there is no life in the place. Abo has been ruined by the annexation to Russia. It carried on free trade formerly with Sweden, but its exports are now checked by the Swedish customs, nor can it seek an exit in Russia, as Finland and Muscovy have the same produce. Its two chief buildings, the observatory and the castle, are in a state of decay. The castle has stood many an assault from Russia, and was once the prison of Eric XIV. It is now garrisoned in time of peace by 250 men.

The prison of Abo presents a deplorable spectacle, and is sadly in want of Howard. The church is an interesting monument internally, though the exterior is heavy. It was the cradle of Christianity in Finland, and contains the tombs of numerous noble families, and many splendid monuments, including that of Catherine Merson, a commoner's daughter, whom Eric XIV. made Queen of Sweden, but

who died in obscurity in Finland. This church was much injured by the fire of 1827, but the damage has been repaired. The building of the old university contains the Governor's apartments, the council chambers, the rooms of the metropolitan chapter, the treasury of the bank, the post-office, and the great hall of the Academy. The edifice itself is called the *Omnibus* of Abo.

Helsingfors, the capital of Finland, is twenty-two Swedish miles (sixty leagues) from Abo. No diligence facilitates the transit between the two towns; the steam-boats only run in summer, and throughout the rest of the year the only plan is to hire post-horses, buy a carriage, or venture to take a *bond kara*. This is a peasant's cart of the most primitive construction, consisting of a plank nailed across an axle uniting two wheels. The traveller sits on this place beside the driver, and has to use the greatest dexterity to keep his balance. In rugged parts of the road, he is obliged to clutch the plank with both hands, in order not to be pitched off. As soon as you are beginning to be familiarized with the nails and asperities of one cart, you arrive at the post-station, and have to form acquaintance with another as convenient as the last. Happily I was saved the luxury of this mode of conveyance by the kindness of a friend, who lent me a comfortable caleche and two horses.

The post in Finland is organized on the same system as in Sweden. Every five or six leagues you find a *gastgifware gard*, with relays of horses furnished by the postmaster, and reserve horses of the peasants. Each station has a day-book or diary, in which the traveller must insert his name, object, &c. It also informs the traveller about distances and fares, so that he runs no risk of being cheated through ignorance of the language. He can also write down in it any complaints he has to make against the postmaster.

The price of relays is very moderate, two silver copecks per horse for every verst, or 3d. per league; and a gratuity to the postilion is thankfully received. The horses are small, but active; they trot like rats across the plains, and gallop down hill at a rattling pace. They go easily ten miles an hour.

Painted posts are placed at every verst marking the distance, which is a relief to the traveller in monotonous and uninhabited districts, enabling him to know how much farther he has to go.

The road from Abo to Helsingfors is kept carefully in repair, but it is silent and deserted. Not a town or a village is to be met for a space of sixty leagues, and I scarcely met six travellers throughout the line. It resembles in appearance many roads in Sweden. Sometimes you pass through a forest of fir or birch-trees, you climb a rocky hill, or you descend into a sandy plain watered by a river. Some versts from Beirsberg I saw a cascade and a forge; and a little farther on, a small lake, surrounded by a girdle of wood and granite. The finest lakes in Finland are in Savolux and Carelia, presenting considerable analogy to the remarkable scenery of Dalecarlia in their verdant glens and slopes. Every spot of the sandy, rocky soil that can be rendered available, is carefully cultivated. The Finlanders are good farmers; they are not deterred by an ungrateful soil or a severe climate. They have conveyed the ploughshare beyond the Polar Circle, and gathered barley crops in Lapland. Wherever there is a

field, there is a dwelling. It is often only a wretched wooden hovel, more like a dovecot than a house; but it shelters a family: the men are a hardy race, inured to fatigue, and the women present the type of beauty amidst rags. At a tender age, the young covey, fed on sour milk and potatoes, leaves the nest, boys and girls going forth to seek service, sending home a tithe of their service to support and relieve their parents. Little is required by these poor people to make them happy; money is scarce with them; they are honest in business, and moderate in their desires; a few roubles seem a fortune to them. I dined one day in a pretty little inn, facing a charming lake, where I got fresh eggs, fish, half a grouse, coffee, and milk, all for a franc. Another day I gave two copecks to a woman who brought me a cup of milk. "Oh, the good gentleman," exclaimed the honest creature, "can drink a great deal of milk for two copecks;" and to satisfy her conscience, she ran to get me another cup.

I only once met an attempt at imposition among this primitive people. A Finlander, uniting the offices of blacksmith, wheelwright, currier, &c., had mended the harness of my horses, and asked me what I thought an exorbitant price. I observed calmly: "This is not right. It is not like an honest Finlander." The poor man blushed, looked down, and replied, stammering: "It is true; I have done wrong: the gentleman will do what he thinks right;" and he went away without looking at what I gave him, ashamed of having made a charge in which an English workman would have gloried.

The next day, it was my turn to be ashamed. I was in my carriage, amidst a monotonous plain, book in hand, when something wet was thrown in, and struck my forehead. I looked up, and saw a child running near the carriage, and thinking he had thrown dirt at me, I addressed him angrily. The poor child ran off; and sitting down, I found he had thrown me a nosegay. In vain I tried to recall him; he had ran off to hide his disappointment in his cottage.

The character and manners of the Finlanders are so honest and gentle, that a journey in Finland is like an easy walk; and when I reached the next station to Helsingfors, the road seemed to have been very short.

Here we find the usual and eternal features of this ancient and noble race, which, whether in Turkey, Magyarland, or Finland, presents the same invariable manifestation of sterling moral qualities, in which the Slavonic and Germanic families are commonly deficient.

I have just seen the old capital of Finland, and I now entered the new one, adopted and enriched by Russia. It was a transition from an ancient chronicle to modern history. Helsingfors was founded as recently as the sixteenth century, in 1550, under Gustavus Vasa. War, famine, and other scourges, long checked its population; but now it contains 16,000 inhabitants, and occupies as much ground as a large city in France. It is an attractive and animated place, full of confidence in its future, and presenting an increase almost comparable to that of Transatlantic cities. It has broad straight streets and squares of military exactness, and presents the symmetry of Russian architecture. It is as straight and stiff as a soldier under arms, and as coquettish and adorned as a young woman. The few

rustic structures that remain are rapidly disappearing before their ostentatious stone neighbours.

The town contains all that could be united by a despotic sceptre to fix the natives and attract strangers,—a high judicial court, a senate, university, and barracks, observatory, baths, parks, and public walks. The appearance of Helsingfors is daily becoming more Muscovite: the national features, so perceptible in the provinces of Savolax and Carelia, are fast vanishing. Russian droschkies furrow its streets, and the Finnish drivers wear the long coat, belt, and hat of the Russian *isvostschiks*. The sign-boards over the shops are partly in Swedish, partly in Russian. Muscovite soldiers parade on the square, to the sound of bugle and drum. Helsingfors has commonly a garrison of 6000 men, besides 6000 in the fortress of Sveaborg. Hence every other man you meet is a soldier.

The aristocratic luxury of St. Petersburg has already reached this town. Finnish simplicity is gradually departing. The drawing-rooms of the nobles at Helsingfors are as elegant as those of Paris, and the better class of society cosmopolitan in spirit and manners. You may hear in the same party popular tales from Torneo, anecdotes of the Imperial Court, and the last news from France; you may hear an ode of Lamartine, primitive Finnic ballads, the Swedish verses of Tegner, or the elegant elegies of Madame Rostopchin; an officer has just arrived from Siberia, another will describe the Caucasus; a lady will describe her recent tour in Italy, and another descant on the beauties of the Crimea. Politics alone are tabooed in this brilliant society, which is, however, witty, and most finished in courtliness. In winter, parties are numerous; in summer, the better class generally retire to the country.

I am not acquainted with any situation, after that of Stockholm, more picturesque than that of Helsingfors. It spreads over a vast peninsula, sprinkled with hills and verdant valleys; the sea surrounds it on all sides as a golden and silver band, enamelled with woods and granite rocks. In one place the sandy beach descends to meet the waves, which cast up, murmuring, a border of foam, and fringes of pearl and azure. In another place, the coast is formed of a rampart of pyramidal rocks, and further on covered with a fir forest, whilst on the quays and squares you have the life and movement of the busy world; a few paces off, you have a savage solitude—a lonely horizon, and no sound but the sighing of the waves, or the moaning of the gale.

Facing the port rises the powerful fortress of Sveaborg, built on seven islands, covered with bastions, and barring the gulf like an iron breakwater, defending the town and a large roadstead. This fortress was built by Count Ehrenswerd, a Swedish Field-Marshal, who asked permission to be buried there. No king of Egypt has a nobler tomb, nor are many monumental inscriptions grander than the Count's: "Here reposes Count Augustus Ehrenswerd, surrounded by his work, the ramparts of Sveaborg, and the royal navy!" The first stone of this fortress was laid by King Frederic in 1749; the last by Gustavus III. in 1758. An inscription informs us that Sveaborg, which on one side touches the sea, and on the other the shore, gives to its wise sovereigns the command of the sea and land!

Such was the glorious past of Sweden under a Gustavus Adolphus and Charles XII.; but the corruption of modern manners and other causes have emasculated our gallant Scandinavian cousins.

The capture of Sveaborg by the Russians in 1808, is one of the most disgusting pieces of treachery recorded in history. It also shows us how Muscovy obtains the keys of her neighbours' houses. Besieged by the Russians in March 1808, it capitulated after two months' blockade, with a garrison of 7500 men, two frigates, 3000 powder barrels, 10,000 cartridges, 2000 cannon balls, and a prodigious amount of ammunition, &c. The Russians had hardly men enough to replace the thousands of prisoners who defiled before them. The secret of this capitulation has never been divulged; but there are shrewd suspicions of corruption. The Swedish admiral, Cronstadt, had hitherto been regarded as a brave and honourable man; but after this mysterious affair, he gave up all employments, retired from his relations, lived like a hermit, and died some years later. He is said on good authority to have died of grief,—another wretched tool of Russian intrigue, another instrument of Europe's and of his country's decline and fall.

In summer a steamer makes daily several passages from Helsingfors to Sveaborg, taking its passengers to the foot of the fortress. If you penetrate within it, you see nothing but convicts dragging their chains, and soldiers; and if you threaten to stop in front of an inscription, or to pass through a gate, a sentinel, sword or musket in hand, gives you a short and energetic warning to move on.

The indented shores of the bay are covered with a number of charming villas, and delightful spots. Each one you see seems to surpass the last; you cross an arm of the sea, ascend a hill, and you encounter something still finer. It is a fairy land, a country too little known, to which the memory often reverts with a sweet and melancholy pleasure.

For my own part, I shall always remember the forests of Standsvik, the solitary slopes of Mailand, the verdant gardens of Traeskenda, and the refreshing landscapes of Lemmsöholm.

CHAPTER VIII.

FREDERICKSHAM, VIBORG, AND CRONSTADT.

AFTER enjoying a short stay at Helsingfors, M. Marmier proceeded on his journey to St. Petersburg, taking his passage on board one of the numerous steamers that connect the capital of Finland and of the Empire. The French traveller justly dilates on the boon conferred by steam navigation on the remote and solitary coasts of the North. Railroads are impossible in Finland,—a tract intersected by rivers, and broken by mountains and rocks; but steam-boats can take their place, and run weekly to Stockholm, Revel, and St. Petersburg, in time of peace. These steamers are mostly handsome boats built in England.

We are told that nothing can be more charming than a sail along the coast of the Gulf of Finland after leaving Helsingfors. A new scene greets you at every turn, presenting every variety of colouring and outline. You pass islands covered with fir-trees, rising like leafy baskets out of the water, long valleys shaded by birch and umbrageous willow-trees, with scattered dwellings; and further on, chains of rocks, consisting of red granite, which have furnished materials for the monuments of St. Petersburg. In many places the gulf, broken by parallel islands, looks like a broad river, more picturesque than the Rhine; and in others, it spreads out again, suffering the expanse of its waters to extend to the azure mist on the horizon. Again you enter a vast archipelago, presenting the appearance of a vast park, intersected by many rivers, and refreshing the eye with large forests of pines, elms, and birch; promontories fringed by the surf, and mysterious bays retiring into the shade.

A light breeze curled the wave, a cloudless sky shone overhead, and the sea reflected in its bosom the sun's rays, the purple rocks, and the verdure of the shores. Six hours after starting, the steamer reached Borgo, a wretched little town, in a picturesque country—a bishopric, and the residence of Runeberg, the favourite poet of Finland. The following day they entered the port of Louisa, a charming and smiling little town. One of its streets descends to the water-side, the others climb the sides of the hill in the form of an amphitheatre: this town does not date beyond a century, and has the freshness and gaiety of youth.

Owing to the delays of the steam-boat, they did not reach Fredericksham before midnight. This town is surrounded by a rampart on the plain of Vauban. It must be very defective, as the Russians suffer it to fall into decay, for not a rock or an island that can be fortified is neglected by the Russian Government in Finland. Coming from the powerful fortress of Sveaborg, M. Marmier saw on his road the citadel of Svartholm, another a few leagues further on, at a spot where, seventy years since, Gustavus III. gained a naval victory over the Russians, and another six versts from Viborg.

Fredericksham was formerly the residence of a Provincial Governor; a massive tower commanded it, forming the focus of the town, where the Treaty of the 5th September 1809, sanctioning the conquest of Finland by Russia, was signed,—another glorious era in the annals of diplomacy. The town was subsequently in great measure consumed by a conflagration, and rebuilt.

The following day, our French traveller continued his voyage across a broad stretch of sea, and in the afternoon they reached Viborg,—a fine port, formed between two islands that break the sea like piers. The port consists of about an hundred houses of merchants, workmen, and innkeepers; and piles of timber ready for shipment to Cadiz, or remote and southern latitudes.

Viborg itself is twelve versts from the port, at the bottom of a deep bay, whereof the shores are covered by its old ramparts, and two suburbs. Its old ruinous castle was built in 1293 by Torkel Knudsen, one of the most illustrious men recorded in the annals of Sweden. Viborg was formerly one of the most important towns of Finland, and the seat of a bishopric. Frequently attacked by the Russians, it

resisted valiantly till 1710, when Peter the Great carried it, after an obstinate siege. It was finally ceded to Russia at the Peace of Ny-stad, 1721; and the Treaty of Abo, in 1743, extended the possessions of Muscovy in this direction.

Since 1809, this part of Finland is subject to the same regulations as the rest of the Grand Duchy. Viborg is now the *chief lietr* of a government, and the centre of a supreme court of justice. It has 3000 inhabitants, and several thousand men in garrison. It has almost entirely lost its Finnic character—presenting on every hand barracks, bastions, officers, and soldiers. Drums beat, bugles sound at all hours: at every turn you meet Don Cossacks, battalions of infantry, engineers, and gendarmes, even in time of peace. Such is Russia.

There are four distinct races in the burgher class,—the Fins, the Swedes, the Germans, and the Russians—the domineering caste. The Swedish is the judicial and administrative language, Russian that of the soldiers, German that of the merchants, Finnic that of the common people.

The district of Viborg extends to within eight leagues of St. Petersburg, which is the Russian frontier. Its inhabitants are better off than those of the rest of Finland, nor are they forced to eat birch-bark bread like the latter occasionally. Many live by fishing and hunting; and not a few serve on board English merchant-ships in time of peace. Many are *torpars*, or farmers, cultivating a portion of land on their own account, and paying a certain number of days' work to the landlord. Their lot is a hard one, but the Fins are a very gentle race.

We cannot follow M. Marmier in his interesting visit to the interior of Russia; but before we leave the shores of the Baltic, we must give a passing glance at Cronstadt.

The Bay of Cronstadt, which is the embouchure of the Neva, forms the eastern extremity of the Gulf of Finland. Most of the bay is very shallow, and the town can only be approached by a tortuous and dangerous channel; nor is any one, including British seamen in time of war, permitted, on any account, to take the soundings. Vessels drawing more than eight feet of water are obliged to unload at Cronstadt, and send their cargoes up in lighters. Accounts differ as to the strength of Cronstadt; but it appears to be ascertained that it is not so assailable as Sebastopol, as it cannot be commanded on the land side. An American writer observes:—"It would seem to be an impossibility for a hostile fleet to approach the Russian capital. Besides the numerous obstructions which defend the entrance to the Neva, immense lines of granite fortifications command the passage, and the fate of every vessel within the range of cannon-shot. We passed these batteries, the town and harbour filled with merchantmen from every land, and huge three-deckers, ships of the line, and then went on through the clear limpid waters of the Neva, varying from 500 to 800 yards in width, lined with flat, unproductive shores, and covered with ugly and unpainted craft."

Cronstadt is twenty-five miles from St. Petersburg, and is built on a small limestone rock, called Kotlinoi Ostrov—Kettle Island, which extends about five miles in front of the mouth of the Neva. Its chief

strength lies in the difficult approaches and the fort of Kronschlott, built on two neighbouring islands, commanding the only navigable channel leading from the open sea. But, though strong, Cronstadt is not impregnable, and a French army with a British fleet may yet take it. Still a wiser, easier, and more effectual method of blocking up Russia and saving Sweden, would be to sink some ships laden with stones, heavy rocks, and other impediments, in the channel leading to Cronstadt. By this means the Russian fleet would be sealed up, and soon destroyed by the fresh waters of the Neva. Such would be the course adopted by a patriotic government.

CHAPTER IX.

STATISTICS OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.

THE whole Russian Empire, which extends over the East of Europe, Northern Asia, several islands between Asia and America, and a part of North-West America, contains about 340,000 square German miles, which amounts to the ninth part of the habitable globe, and one-fourteenth of the land of the entire planet. Its northern frontier borders on Norway and the Icy Sea; to the east, its limits reach British North America; to the south, it touches China, the Sea of Aral, Dschagatai, the Caspian Sea, Iran, and Asiatic Turkey, together with the Sea of Azof and the Black Sea; and to the westward it borders on European Turkey, Gallicia, Prussia, Sweden, and Norway. European Russia embraces 96,000 square miles, Poland 2320, Asiatic Russia 224,000, and Russian America 18,000 square German miles. The greatest extent of this immense territory is—from north to south, 580 German or 2900 English miles, and from west to east more than 180 degrees, *i. e.*, more than half the circumference of the earth. The sum-total of its inhabitants is estimated at about 70,000,000, *i. e.*, one-fifteenth of the whole population of the earth, and one-fourth of that of Europe. It contains 100 nations, with more than forty different languages.

If we classify them according to families and races, we obtain the following results:—

Great Russians	33,000,000
Little Russians (Ruthenians)	11,200,000
White Russians	3,600,000
Lithuanians and Poles	7,000,000
Fins and Belts	3,300,000
Tartars and Mohammedans	2,400,000
Germans	600,000
Georgians and Armenians	2,000,000
Jews	1,500,000
Ural Tribes	600,000
Various Tribes in Asia and America, as also in the Southern Steppes	4,800,000
Grand Total	70,000,000

In the year 1850, Russia contained 1842 towns, of which 1608 were situated in Europe. The entire Empire is divided into provinces or governments, which present the following statistical results:—

SURFACE AND POPULATION OF RUSSIA, ACCORDING TO
THE LATEST OFFICIAL TABLES AND CENSUS.

EUROPEAN PROVINCES.		Square Geo- graphical Miles.	Inhabitants.
Archangel.....		15,519 ...	253,000
Astrachan.....		2,860 ...	290,000
Bessarabia.....		858 ...	800,000
Charkoff.....		985 ...	1,500,000
Cherson, exclusive of Odessa.....		1,332 ...	800,000
Government of Odessa.....		... ..	80,000
Ciscaucasia, exclusive of Tchernomoria.....		1,957 ...	405,000
Tchernomorski Cossacks.....		693 ...	125,000
Don Cossacks.....		2,943 ...	750,000
Esthonia, and part of Lake Peipus.....		376 ...	330,000
Grodno.....		692 ...	940,000
Jaroslafl, with Lake Nero, near Rostoff.....		660 ...	1,050,000
Taganrog and district.....		79 ...	80,000
Ekaterinoslav, without Taganrog and the Azof Cossacks.....		1,121 ...	800,000
Azof Cossacks.....		5 ...	6,000
Kaluga.....		574 ...	1,050,000
Kasan.....		1,128 ...	1,350,000
Kiow.....		914 ...	1,620,000
Kostroma.....		1,496 ...	1,090,000
Kowno.....		758 ...	918,000
Courland, including Lake Usmaitia.....		495 ...	570,000
Koursk.....		818 ...	1,720,000
Livonia, with parts of the Lakes Peipus and Pskof.....		853 ...	830,000
Minsk.....		1,623 ...	1,060,000
Mohilew.....		885 ...	990,000
Moscow.....		589 ...	1,450,000
Nischnei-Navgorod.....		876 ...	1,300,000
Novgorod } with the Lakes.....		{ 2,213 ...	930,000
Olonetz }		{ 2,783 ...	290,000
Orel.....		859 ...	1,600,000
Orenburg.....		4,581 ...	1,950,000
Ural Cossacks' Territory.....		1,192 ...	60,000
Penza.....		690 ...	1,200,000
Perm.....		5,073 ...	1,800,000
Podolia.....		774 ...	1,750,000
Poltawa.....		897 ...	1,790,000
Pskof.....		809 ...	800,000
Riaisan.....		766 ...	1,400,000
St. Petersburg, with the Kotlinoi Islands, parts of Lakes Peipus, Pskof, and Ladoga.....		969 ...	690,000
Saratof, with Lake Elton.....		3,115 ...	1,800,000
Simbirsk.....		1,315 ...	1,360,000
Smolensk.....		1,019 ...	1,190,000
Tambov.....		1,202 ...	1,830,000
Tauria.....		1,164 ...	668,000

EUROPEAN PROVINCES.

	Square Geo- graphical Miles.	Inhabitants.
Tchernigof.....	999 ...	1,490,000
Tula.....	555 ...	1,275,000
Tver.....	1,223 ...	1,380,000
Volhynia.....	1,296 ...	1,550,000
Wilna.....	768 ...	920,000
Witepsk.....	810 ...	810,000
Viatka.....	2,500 ...	1,750,000
Vladimir.....	863 ...	1,350,000
Vologda.....	5,967 ...	910,000
Woronesch.....	1,209 ...	1,750,000

ASIATIC AND AMERICAN PROVINCES.

The four governments of Tobolsk, Tomsk, Jenis- seik, and Irkutsk, with some districts of Eastern and Western Siberia.....	224,000 ...	3,500,000
The four governments of Tiflis, Kutais, Sche- macha, and Cent.....	3,100 ...	3,600,000
Russian America.....	18,000 ...	70,000
Kingdom of Poland.....	2,320 ...	4,880,000
Grand Duchy of Finland.....	6,200 ...	1,500,000
Grand Total.....	340,320	70,000,000

Having in a previous work given a general outline of the topography, government, population, commerce, &c., of Russia, we do not propose to enter into those matters on the present occasion. We have confined ourselves to a brief survey of those parts of the Muscovite Empire which, by their position, are exposed to become the seat of war, and are chiefly inhabited by a population containing the seeds of disaffection. Those readers who are desirous of obtaining a farther insight into various branches connected with the colossal power that now threatens the liberties and disturbs the peace of the world, are referred to the volume to which we have previously alluded, where he will find many illustrations and particulars relating to the court, the cabinet, and the people of Russia.

As, however, it is highly important, in estimating the prospects of the present struggle, to have a correct conception of all the belligerents, it will not be superfluous to present the reader with a summary picture of the military and naval strength of Russia at the present moment.

LAND FORCES.

I.—THE ACTIVE ARMY OF OPERATIONS IN EUROPE.

I. The Imperial Guard, 3 divisions = 12 regiments of 3 battalions, each reckoning 1000 men.....	36,000 men.
To the Imperial Guard are also attached,—	
1. 2 battalions of carbineers, 2 battalions of an in- fantry muster-regiment, 1 battalion sappers, 1 battalion of instruction-sappers, 1 battalion of Finnish rifles.....	7,000 "
2. A division of light cavalry of the guard, 4 regi- ments, with 6 squadrons each.....	3,840 horses.
3. 1 artillery division.....	120 cannon.

II. The Grenadier Corps, of 3 divisions = 12 regiments, of 4 battalions, of 1000 men each.....	48,000 men.						
Besides,—							
1. 1 sapper battalion.....	1,000 „						
2. The 7th light cavalry division, consisting of 1 hussar brigade and 1 lancer brigade = 4 regi- ments, of 8 squadrons.....	5,120 horses.						
3. 1 division of foot artillery, 12 batteries.....	120 guns.						
4. 1 brigade of horse artillery.....	16 „						
III. The Corps of Infantry, from Nos. 1 to 6. Each of these corps has 3 divisions of infantry = 18 divi- sions = 72 regiments = 288 battalions of 1000 men.....	288,000 men.						
Besides,—							
1. 6 battalions of sappers.....	6,000 „						
2. 6 light cavalry divisions, each composed of 2 hussar and 2 lancer regiments = 24 regiments and 198 squadrons.....	30,720 horses.						
3. 6 divisions of foot artillery, in 90 batteries.....	720 guns.						
4. 6 brigades of horse artillery = 12 batteries.....	96 „						
Total.....	<table> <tr> <td>{ Infantry</td><td>386,000</td></tr> <tr> <td>{ Cavalry</td><td>39,680</td></tr> <tr> <td>{ Guns</td><td>1,680</td></tr> </table>	{ Infantry	386,000	{ Cavalry	39,680	{ Guns	1,680
{ Infantry	386,000						
{ Cavalry	39,680						
{ Guns	1,680						
IV. The Heavy Cavalry Reserve,—							
1. The Imperial Guard, consisting of—							
(1.) 1 division of cuirassier guards, of 4 regiments, of 6 squadrons.....	3,840 horses.						
(2.) 1 division of light cavalry of the guard.....	3,840 „						
Besides Circassians, Cossacks, Crim Tartars, and Ural Polks = 4 squadrons	640 „						
(3.) Horse pioneers, 2 squadrons.....	500 „						
(4.) 4 batteries of horse artillery = 22 guns.....							
	32 guns and 8,820 horses.						
2. The 1st corps of cavalry reserve, consisting of—							
(1.) The 1st cuirassier division, of 4 regiments and 24 squadrons.....	3,840 horses.						
(2.) The 1st lancer division, of 4 regiments and 24 squadrons.....	5,120 „						
(3.) 4 batteries of horse artillery = 32 guns.							
	32 guns, 8,960 horses.						
3. The 2d corps of reserve cavalry.....	32 guns, 8,960 horses.						
4. The 3d corps of reserve cavalry (dragoons)							
(1.) 2 divisions of dragoons, 8 regiments or 80 squadrons.....	12,800 „						
(2.) 1 cavalry pioneer division, of 2 squadrons, with a pontoon train.....	500 „						
(3.) 32 guns, in 4 horse batteries.							
	32 guns, 13,300 horses.						
Total.....	128 guns, 40,040 horses.						

Hence the great active army of Russia consists of—

1. 386 battalions of infantry.....	386,000 men.
2. 469 squadrons of cavalry.....	79,720 horses.
3. Artillery.....	1,200 guns.

If we add to this list the artillery-drivers, baggage-train, &c., we obtain..... 500,000.

II.—THE EUROPEAN ARMY OF RESERVE, ACCORDING TO THE UKASE OF 1842.

I. The Imperial Guard,—

1. 4th battalions of the infantry.....	12 battalions.
2. 7th and 8th squadrons of the cavalry.....	24 squadrons.
3. 3d reserve and 3d succour batteries of the foot artillery	48 guns.
4. Of the horse artillery	8 „

II. Grenadier Corps,—

1. 5th and 6th battalions of the 12 grenadier regiments	24 battalions.
2. 9th and 10th squadrons of the cavalry.....	8 squadrons.
3. Reserves of foot artillery	48 guns.
4. Reserves of horse artillery	8 „

III. The Infantry Corps, 1 to 6, —

1. 5th and 6th battalions of 72 infantry regiments.....	144 battalions.
2. 9th and 10th squadrons of 42 cavalry regiments.....	48 squadrons.
3. Reserve of foot artillery.....	288 guns.
4. Reserve of horse artillery	48 „

IV. The 3 corps of Reserve Cavalry,—

1. 9th and 10th squadrons of 11 regiments.....	32 squadrons.
2. 11th and 12th squadrons of 8 dragoon regiments.....	16 „
3. 3 succour batteries of horse artillery.....	24 guns.

V. Reserve Sappers, 2 battalions.

Total reserves, 182 battalions, 128 squadrons, and 472 cannon. These are called out in time of war.

We have also to consider—

III.—THE CAUCASIAN ARMY.

I. In Ciscaucasia,—

1. 4 regiments, of 5000 men each.....	20,000 men.
2. 10 battalions of infantry of the line.....	10,000 „
3. The same number in Tschernomoria and on the Black Sea.....	10,000 „
4. 1 battalion of sappers.....	1,000 „
5. 22 regiments of Malo-Russians, Don, Line, and Tschernomorski Cossacks.....	38,567 „
6. Artillery, 146 guns, with.....	1,600 „

Total..... 146 guns, 81,167 men.

II. In Trans-Caucasia,—

The infantry consists of 1 brigade of grenadiers, and the 19th, 20th, and 21st divisions of infantry; and the cavalry consists of 1 regiment of dragoons and 8 Mussulman regiments, the whole amounting to about..... 80,000 men.

The force of the artillery is not stated.

IV.—THE ARMY CORPS IN FINLAND.

This force consists usually of 16 battalions and 1 artillery brigade, but is now materially increased.

V.—THE ARMY CORPS OF ORENBURG.

6 battalions, 1 brigade of artillery, and 16 regiments of Ural Cossacks.

VI.—THE SIBERIAN ARMY CORPS.

16 battalions and 1 brigade of artillery.

VII.—THE DIFFERENT COSSACK CORPS.

50,000 horses.

VIII.—THE GENERAL RESERVE IN TIME OF WAR.

This depends on circumstances, amounting sometimes to one-twentieth of the population, sometimes to a levy *en masse*.

IX.—VETERANS AND INVALIDS.

Their number may be estimated at 60,000.

After this general survey of the military forces of this immense Empire, let us cast a glance at the special army that has been engaged in the invasion of the Danubian Principalities.

This army was originally placed under the orders of Prince Gortschakoff, though some maintain that the direction of the war has emanated throughout from Paskiewitsch, Prince of Warsaw. On its first entrance into the Principalities, this army scarcely amounted to 75,000 or 80,000 men, and consisted of the corps of Generals Dannenberg and Luders. We have previously seen that each complete corps ought to consist of 48,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and 96 guns, giving a total of 52,000 to 56,000 men, a force that can be raised in time of war to 80,000 men, by means of the reserves. The corps commanded by Dannenberg is the fourth of the active army; its 1st division, which is called the 10th in the regular series of the army, is under Lieutenant-General Soimonoff; the 11th, under Major-General Pawloff I.; the 12th, under Lieutenant-General Liprandy; the 4th light cavalry division is under Lieutenant-General Count Nierod I.; and the division of artillery under Major-General Sixtel.

The 5th corps, under Luders, the greater part of which remained behind in Bessarabia, consists of the 13th, 14th, and 15th divisions of infantry. The first is commanded by Lieutenant-General Obrutschoff II.; the 14th by Lieutenant-General von Moller II.; and the 15th by Lieutenant-General Marine. The light cavalry division attached to this corps is commanded by Lieutenant-General Fischbach, and was very roughly handled at Citate; and the artillery division is under the orders of Major-General Meyer I.

Several reinforcements appear to have joined these corps subsequently, including a division of Osten Sacken's corps, and a division of Cossacks. When this army first penetrated into Turkey, it left 5000 men in Moldavia; and Major-General Anrep, with the vanguard, was pushed on the left flank between Galatz and Kalarasch, probably to Slobodzieja, whilst Gortschakoff occupied Bucharest, which became the head-quarters, and detached a corps of about 15,000 men into Little Wallachia under General Fichback, who placed his head-quarters at Krajova, the capital of this district, and pushed on his outposts to Kalafat, Karakal, and Rusreda, whilst the

Wallachian militia was forced to watch the left bank of the Danube much against its will.

As for Prince Gortschakoff, he threw up an intrenched camp at Bucharest, and another at Frateschti, distant one post-station from Giurgevo Rustchuk, which was the most important point at his centre. After hostilities began, a third camp was raised at the second line of operations in the centre, at Budeszti, on the road from Bucharest to Oltenitza. It is needless to inform the reader that the Russians have been beaten at all these points by the Turks alone; first, at Oltenitza; second, at Citate; third, at Giurgevo, without speaking of Silistria. Yet, a few months since, the wisdom of the West had decreed the fall of Turkey, while the fact is, that but for Austrian interference, the Russian army would be in imminent peril.

Having considered the Russian army, we shall attempt an estimate of its marine.

In the first place, the Russian is essentially a land-lubber; and if the reader wish to have a notion of Muscovite seamanship, he is referred to Oliphant's trip down the Volga,¹ where he was many times stranded, and nearly swept from the deck by the towing cables, owing to the clumsy and loutish manœuvres of his crew. Born generally amidst vast plains, ignorant and innocent of water in every cleanly shape, without lust or love for the adventures and dangers of a seaman's life, he is drawn for the navy and made a sailor without any regard to his capabilities. Hence, though an admirable soldier, the Russian never makes a good seaman. As an evidence of this, we shall present an extract from a writer, who is far from hostile to Muscovy:—

“It is well known that the memory of a glorious past is a great stimulant to bravery. The Russian sailor and marine has no such past. He stands bolt upright in high boots and a stiff uniform, in a position prescribed by regulation, so that his feet form an angle of 45°, whether he be on the forecastle or at the poop. In imminent peril, he handles the capstan exactly according to regulation, whilst an English tar would have run up and coiled the cable, and cleared the decks for action. The firing is the only thing that is done quickly on board Russian ships. They work their ships much slower than we do; hauling, bracing, furling, &c., are all done with great precision and regularity, but very slowly. The shortness of their ships makes it difficult to wear. The separate decks are commonly not sufficiently raised from each other, though they appear to be so owing to the shortness of the ships, which are dull sailers, with thick planks, reminding one of the Armada, with its massive precautions against cannon-balls. The exercise is very precise, but every man seems only fit for a special duty. He of course succeeds very well in that, but if he fall in action, who is to replace him? The most extravagantly mechanical spirit prevails in the Russian navy. The men are often ignorant of the connection between their own office and the general security and success of the ship. He does not call the sea his mother, his ship his bride, like the gallant sailor of Old England. He does not turn a quid in his mouth, nor does he put by a loose rope if he sees it, but reports it to the lieutenant, who, seeing in the

¹ Oliphant's “Russian Shores of the Black Sea.”

day-book whose duty it was to look after that rope, drags up the wretch by the ears for punishment. Such is the order and discipline of the Russian navy.

Nor is this all, for there is as yet no regular naval penal law in Russia. Each commander can act as he pleases; and with our knowledge of the Russian treatment of serfs in Muscovy, we cannot expect any great justice or forbearance in their treatment of the common men. Good authorities attest the thievishness of the employés in furnishing stores; and as most of the trade of Russia is in the hands of foreigners, her navy is not likely to be very formidable for many years. Without a large commercial navy, this is impossible; and Russia's fleets will be long condemned to lie up as soon as a British squadron heaves in sight, unless its commander be paralyzed by diplomacy.

Having already described the Russian Black Sea Fleet, it only remains for us to say that the Baltic Fleet forms three divisions, containing 27 ships-of-the-line, 18 frigates, and 15 corvettes, brigs, &c., with a suitable appendage of steamers. It is under the command of Vice-Admiral Lutke, Jépantschin II., and Schramm. The whole Russian naval force comprises 45 ships-of-the-line, 30 frigates, 5 corvettes, and 20 brigs, manned by 50,600 men, of whom 30,800 are in the Baltic Fleet. We have shown how the Baltic Fleet might be sealed up without loss of life in the present work; and in a former publication we have attempted to show an easy and effectual method of capturing Sebastopol and the Black Sea Fleet.

PART III.

THE INDIRECT SEAT OF THE WAR.

CHAPTER I.

AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.

It appears to be generally admitted that no neighbour of Russia is so deeply interested in the present war as Austria, and all impartial authorities are agreed that the fall of Turkey decides that of the German Empire. Since the Hungarian insurrection in 1848-9, Austria is at the mercy of Russia, and if we carefully examine the following analysis of its population, we shall discover that the Emperor of Austria reigns by the good pleasure of Nicholas, and that Vienna is much more exposed than Constantinople. Many reasons can be adduced to establish this fact, especially the circumstance that the Ottoman army is united, loyal, and of distinguished valour, whilst that of Austria is divided, and its best troops are disaffected. Hence it cannot be too strongly urged on the government and people of England, that Austria is not a free agent, and that if she affects to side with us, it is a Russian trap to protract negotiations, and rescue Russia from her difficulties.

The reader who takes the trouble to read the will of Peter the Great, and to compare it with the present divided and dangerous state of Austria, cannot doubt what its future destiny will be. The armies of the Hapsburgs in Hungary and Galicia have settled their doom, and will soon bring down a just retribution on their head. As Austria can only be regarded as a protégé and a dependency of Russia, it is important for us to dwell somewhat at length on this Empire, in order to ascertain the elements of strength or weakness that she will shortly add to her protector and master.

The population of the Austrian Empire must be estimated at rather more than 34,755,400 inhabitants,¹ spread over a surface of 12,120 square geographical miles, or 193,920 square statute miles. It will be well to add, in this place, that Hungary alone engrosses 11,232,600 of these inhabitants, and 4182 square geographical, or 66,912 square statute miles.

To facilitate our understanding of the present position and future prospects of the Austrian Empire, I give a statistical table of its extent and population:—

¹ The last census gives 38,000,000.

	Square Ger- man Miles.	Population.
Kingdom of Bohemia,.....	956.80	4,300,000
Margravate of Moravia,.....	417.64	1,530,000
Duchy of Silesia,.....	86.85	360,000
Austria under the Enns,.....	365.65	2,950,000
Austria over the Enns, with the circles of the Inn, Hansruk, and Salzburg,.....	344.32	
Duchy of Styria,.....	398.98	800,000
Duchy of Carinthia,.....	190.90	1,000,000
Illyria and a part of Croatia,.....	250.95	
Coast district,.....	176.18	750,000
Tyrol and Vorarlberg,.....	520.44	
Lombardo-Venetian,.....	867.50	6,000,000
Kingdom of Dalmatia,.....	274.49	334,000
Kingdom of Gallicia, ...	1526.12	4,000,000
Hungary, Croatia, and Slavonia,.....	4097.06	12,232,600
Transylvania and military frontiers,.....	1118.70	

Before individualizing the features of this large monarchy, it may be desirable to generalize the physical characteristics of Southern Germany and Hungary.

Heeren supposed the extensive plain that constitutes a great part of Hungary to be the bottom of a lake, with the Carpathian mountains for its northern boundary, till the Danube broke through and drained it. General Baron Sorriol shows that the whole continent of Europe may be divided into basins, with a large river as outlet. According to this view, all Hungary, Austria, and Bavaria may be included in one great basin, of which the north is bounded by the Carpathians, and other high lands, extending to the Fichtelgebirge, to the north of Ratisbon, terminating in the Black Forest, not far from Strasburg, and having to the southward the Alps, and the mountains of Dalmatia and Croatia, to the Black Sea. This great basin is intersected by inferior ridges, forming some smaller basins, all of which, however, pour their waters into the Danube. It is almost needless to observe, that if the Russians permanently occupy the Danubian Principalities, the outlet to this vast basin is closed, and it lies at the mercy of the Northern Colossus, both in military and commercial affairs. Returning to the races peopling the Austrian Empire, we find that 18,000,000 are Slavonians, 10,000,000 Germans, 4,000,000 Magyars, and 5,000,000 Italians, without reckoning several smaller nationalities. Out of the thirty-five or forty millions composing the population of Austria, it appears that eighteen millions are Slavonians, consisting of Croats (Illyrians, Dalmatians, &c.), Slovaks in Hungary, Moravians, Bohemians, Gallician Poles, &c. Hence more than half the population of this vast Empire is Slavonic, or affiliated with Russia.

Analyzing the population of Austria under the head of religion, we find the majority even of the Slavonians Roman Catholics, with a considerable sprinkling of Protestants among the Magyars and in Transylvania. Still an important section of the population are members of the Greek or Eastern Church. But the danger of Austria does not lie in the latter circumstance. Most of the Slavonic populations of Eastern Europe wish for a Panslavonic Empire, and do not countenance the idea of annexation with Russia; but the Government

of Muscovy, which can be the most revolutionary in Europe, encourages this Panslavonic movement and elsewhere, in order, after having alienated the people and sown rebellion among them, to step in as protector, and annex them out of love for *order*.¹

The history of Hungary is one of the most interesting on record, especially when we recollect that its venerable Constitution is about as ancient as our *Magna Charta*. And though we may feel doubtful, from painful experience, if constitutional governments invariably secure a people from tyranny and disgrace, yet it will probably be conceded that they are a necessary evil in a certain transition of society, previous to its advance to a higher and more liberal platform of civilization.

Nor is the language of the Magyars without its interest and its beauties, being capable of expressions of passion and pathos that would shock the polite ears of a Westminster audience, but which, bursting like a torrent from the lips of a Kossuth, raised a gallant people to transports of enthusiasm, and sent them to perform prodigies on the field of battle.

Adelung represents the Hungarians, by which term we presume that he means the Magyars, as speaking a mixed dialect. The name of Hungary was first applied, in the fourth century, to a tribe of Moguls, in the territory of the Bashkirs, between the Tobol and the Volga, and the Jaik. They were subdued by the Turkish tribes in the seventh century, and in the eighth and ninth they lived by robbing and pasturing cattle in the neighbourhood of the Chazars and of Ekaterinoslav.

They were called into Germany by Ratislaw, King of Moravia, to help him against the King of Germany, and at the end of the twelfth century they were called in by King Arnulph to help him against the Moravians. On returning from this campaign, finding their home occupied by the Bulgarians, they endeavoured to settle in Galicia, but managed eventually to pass the Carpathians, and to seize a part of Pannonia and Bulgaria, whence they devastated Germany.

These Hungarians who emigrated into Europe consisted of seven tribes, one of which, and the most important, was called Magyars.

The remainder of them stayed some time among the Bashkirs, where they were found by travellers in the middle of the thirteenth century. These Asiatic Hungarians appear to have been absorbed. As regards their earliest derivation, some Magyars are fond of tracing it to the Huns, but Adelung pronounces this only a casual resemblance of names, nor can we attach any importance to the Parthian origin assigned them by Captain Spencer. The handsome Hungarian has little likeness to the hateful physical development of the Mogul.

The connection of the Magyars with the Fins is admitted as much more probable by Adelung,² who allows that the two languages have much in common; but he will not believe that the intelligent, handsome, and spirited Magyar is identical with the gentle and

¹ "Frontier Lands." Spencer's "Turkey, Russia," &c.
"Mithridates."

timid Tschudic race. He asserts that the Magyars are a Turco-Tartaric tribe, which subdued and became incorporated with Fins and Tschudes, so that the two races and tongues have become blended in one. The Hungarians appear in the earliest times on the Caspian and Black Seas, always struggling, at one time masters and at another servants.

The general inference of Adelung is that the people and language of the Magyars cannot be given any definite origin, but that it is a compound of fragments from various sources,—Turkish, German, Slavic, Wotiak, Ostiak, even Persian, Arabic, &c. But this view of the author of the “Mithridates” has been greatly modified by subsequent researches, and the results of grammatical analogies have shown a decided and intimate affinity between the Magyars, the Celts, the Fins, and the Turks,¹ thus showing that this family of nations is one of the most venerable, and allied to the noblest blood in history.

As regards the chronology of their invasion, other accounts differ from Adelung by representing its occurrence in the ninth century, when they were driven from the Don by a powerful Scythian tribe called Patxenaci, and passed into Hungary.

It has appeared desirable to present a chronological list of their dukes and kings, beginning from their first settlement and occupation of Pannonia:—

DUKES OF HUNGARY.

From A.D.	From A.D.
884, Arpad.	947, Torus.
889, Arzab.	972, Geisa.
907, Zoltau.	997, Stephen.

KINGS OF HUNGARY.

From A.D.	From A.D.
1000, Stephen I.	1205, Andrew II.
1038, Peter I.	1235, Bela IV.
1040, Samuel.	1270, Stephen VI.
1041, Peter II.	1272, Ladislas IV.
1044, Peter III.	1290, Andrew III.
1046, Andrew I.	1301, Wenzel of Bohemia.
1060, Bela I.	1304, Otho of Bavaria.
1063, Salomon.	1307, Charles I. of Naples.
1074, Geisa I.	1342, Louis I.
1077, Ladislas.	1382, Maria I.
1095, Kolomann.	1385, Charles II. of Naples.
1114, Stephen II.	1385, Maria II.
1131, Bela II.	1387, Sigismund.
1141, Geisa II.	1437, Albert.
1160, Stephen III.	1440, Elizabeth.
1162, Ladislas II.	1442, Vladislaus.
1162, Stephen IV.	1444, Ladislas V.
1162, Stephen V.	1457, Matthias.
1173, Bela III.	1490, Vladislaus II.
1196, Emmerich.	1516, Louis II.
1204, Ladislas III.	1526, John Zapolya.

¹ Latham's Ethnology; Dr. Wiseman's Lectures on the Connection of Science and Revelation, vol. i.; Bock's Sprachbau.

KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF HAPSBURG.

From A.D.

1527, Ferdinand I.
 1563, Maximilian.
 1576, Rodolph.
 1608, Matthias II.
 1619, Ferdinand II.
 1637, Ferdinand III.
 1657, Leopold I.
 1705, Joseph I.
 1711, Charles II.

From A.D.

1740, Maria Theresa.
 1780, Joseph II.
 1790, Leopold II.
 1792, Francis I.
 1835, Ferdinand IV.
 1849, Deposition of the House of
 Hapsburg by the Hun-
 garian Diet.

Ancient history records the ingratitude of Athens, and the betrayal of Judas; and modern history has to relate that the House of Hapsburg has been twice saved by neighbours, and has twice repaid its debt of gratitude in perfidy and blood.

Europe has too easily forgotten its protection by the Poles in 1683. The gallant Sobieski saved Vienna from the Turks,¹ who were then as threatening as the Russians now, and the Poles were rewarded within a century by the partition, planned between Prince Kaunitz, Catherine, and the Great Frederic. Galicia became the spoil of the Hapsburgs; and in 1846, Metternich and the Camarilla of Schönbrunn, the friends of order, fomented a proletarian and communistic conspiracy in that kingdom, bribing the peasants to butcher the nobles, who were patriotic and liberal men.²

The second instance is presented in 1741. Maria Theresa, a lovely and able woman, had ascended the Hungarian throne, but she was surrounded by foes, and in imminent danger of losing her crown. The hostile troops were approaching Vienna, Frederic of Prussia was thundering on the frontier, and Hungary was almost in a defenceless state.

But the Queen knew her people, and determined to make an appeal to their chivalry. She was a beautiful woman of twenty-four, courageous, eloquent, and in distress. Holding her infant prince in her arms, she appeared in the Diet at Presburg, calling upon the brave Magyars to help her. Such an appeal was well adapted to rouse the enthusiasm and prowess of a heroic people. An explosion of loyalty took place; the magnates brandished their sabres, and the Palatine offered all the resources of the kingdom to the Queen. The nobles offered all their plate, an army was raised, and the Hapsburgs were saved.³ It should also be added, in justice, that Maria Theresa always appreciated the value of her Hungarian subjects. But she was succeeded by knaves and fools; and within a century Hungary was betrayed, robbed, and enslaved by her enlightened descendants.

Our space will not suffer us to dwell on the sublime or horrible episodes that marked the Hungarian Revolution. They are chronicled above and below, and the due punishment of the guilty and reward of the victims must be left to unearthly hands and tongues.

¹ Von Hammer's "Geschichte des Osmanischen Reichs.

See the Author's pamphlet on "The Coming Peace."

³ Mrs. Jameson's "Maria Theresa," in her "Lives of Remarkable Women."

Many of the actors are gone to their long account. Some of the martyrs still linger in the state prison, less fortunate than their brothers, who fell on the field of fame with Hungary's standard as their shroud. But whether absent or present, the home of the gallant Magyar is a desolation and a waste, whilst some diplomatists and soldiers, who were wont to worship honesty and practise honour, do not recoil at an alliance with a craven cabinet and a coward army.

In order somewhat to refresh the memory of our countrymen, and especially to show them the truth and justice of the charge that Kossuth is an ambitious demagogue, and not the idol of his people, we shall present the reader with a contemporary description of the effect wrought by this wonderful man's appeal to arms.

Description of the Effect of Kossuth's Appeal to Arms on the People of Hungary.

It is difficult to form an idea of the enthusiasm that was excited by this appeal. Every inhabitant of Hungary, whatever might be his way of thinking, felt himself exalted and inspired by the thunder of Kossuth's eloquence. All parties embraced each other cordially, and united for the defence of their common country. The words of the Hungarian hero were received with veneration, both in the large towns, which were partly inhabited by German citizens of Austrian tendencies, as well as in the most miserable hamlets. From the sandy steppes south of the Theiss, to the highest pinnacles of the snow-mantled Carpathians, Kossuth's cry of alarm resounded through the length and breadth of the land. It roused the people everywhere to action, and they arose in their might like one man, and swore to save their country.

Truly Kossuth's words work wonders! Armed legions hurry to the defence of their country from the north and the south, from the east and the west. Vast bodies of combatants gather from the southern meadows of the Bacska, and pour down from the rocky mountains of Marmaros, and the blast of the war-trumpet rings from one end of Hungary to the other. On all sides are heard the notes of the Rakoczy march, and the bristling battalions stop to listen while they await the voice of Kossuth. Nay, even the very fiddling gipsies have thrown away their cymbals, pipe, and fiddle, seize the axe or the sword, and join the legions on the battle-field.

And what a tumult and stir is at Pesth!

Bodies of recruits are seen exercising on the Rakos (the plain near Pesth); masses of the Landsturm, armed with scythes, hurry through the streets to the sound of the Rakoczy, in order to unite under the tricolor of Hungary, and to march against the hordes of Croats. And now is heard the tramp of admirably disciplined masses of men. It is a body of Viennese volunteers, 1000 strong, having amongst their number some hundred Calabrians, and organized by the spirited Viennese students. In loud tones they raise their favourite spirit-stirring song, "Where is the German Fatherland?"

Hurrah! Hurrah! Listen to the *Eljen* shouts resounding through the streets! See the waving of hats, the symbol of joy and exulta-

tion! Hear the stirring trumpet-blast, while the trampling of horses shakes the ground! These are squadrons of hussars that come riding in, having deserted from Bohemia, Moravia, and Styria, scorning and fretting at their compulsory inactivity during the death-struggle of their Fatherland. The bronzed and bearded faces of these noble warriors gaze with emotion and delight at the enthusiastic tumult through which they ride, whilst, unless our eyes deceive us, many an eye is moistened by a tear. The women and girls throw down garlands of flowers on the warriors defiling beneath them.

And now another sound bursts upon the ear;—on one side the *Marseillaise* is thundered forth to heaven in a storm of rapture, whilst in another place the melancholy strains of the Polish patriotic air, “*Tackska Polske ni sginella*” (Poland is not yet lost), strike the ear! These are the French-Polish legions who are just leaving the town, and hurrying to the battle.

Truly there never was a more beautiful, laughing, fascinating spectacle, than that which Pesth unrolled before your eyes in those days.

We must now pass to a brief analysis of that venerable Constitution which was impiously trampled under foot in 1849.

The Bulla Aurea, which was the Hungarian Magna Charta, was passed in the year 1222. It was obtained by Bela and the barons from his father Andreas. All the constitutional rights secured to the Hungarians were based on this act.

The privileges granted to the nobles were cardinal and non-cardinal. The cardinal privileges are, 1. Inviolability of person, except in cases of high treason; 2. The noble is subject to no one but the king; 3. The noble only could have landed property, till the abolition of serfdom by Kossuth.

The non-cardinal privileges are—

1. Every noble is born a soldier; 2. They are free from taxes.

The nobles form three classes—

1. The magnates, who are Catholics.
2. The untitled nobles, or country gentlemen.
3. The Egyhaszy, Nemes Ember, one house-nobles, who are little above peasants.

The two latter classes consist of Protestants.

The population of Hungary being about 10,000,000, and the number of electors, up to 1848, being 125,000, one out of twenty had the right of voting in the adult male population. We have seen that Hungary contains fifty-two counties, each of which, before the suppression of the Constitution by the Hapsburgs, returned two deputies to the Diet, which was required, by the fundamental law of the land, to be called together every three years. The Diet consisted of two chambers: 1. Of Deputies; 2. Of Magnates, corresponding to our Commons and Lords. Six or seven hundred nobles had a right to sit in the Upper Chamber, but very few used to attend previous to 1847. The Upper Chamber had three distinct classes amongst its members: 1. The higher clergy; 2. The magnates by office; 3. Magnates by birth and title.

Thirty-five bishops and archbishops of the Catholic, and one of the Greek Church, had seats in this house. The Archbishop of Gran is

the Prince Primate of Hungary, a man enjoying almost as apostolic a fortune as the Bishop of London, and attended, like the Pope, and other followers of the Prince of Peace, with hireling soldiers, forming a noble army of martyrs.

The Palatine was the Lord Chancellor of Hungary, and also the President of the Vice-Regal Council. There used to be fourteen Great Officers of State, and fifty-two Lord-Lieutenants of Counties. All the sons of nobles over twenty-five years of age belong to the third class.

The Urbarium given to the Hungarian peasants by Maria Theresa, about 1765, constituted their Magna Charta. By this act they could leave their land, or obtain a share in it; and a new Urbarium, in 1836, secured them new privileges, till Kossuth, at length, in 1848, abolished serfdom in every shape and race throughout the land, which accounts for the hospitable reception given to the hero of Hungary by the opulent and titled classes in England.

The army maintained by Hungary under the Constitution was 60,000 strong. The Executive, under that system, consisted of the *Königliche Stadthaltereil*. The Palatine was President of this Council, which was composed of twenty-five intimates, chosen by the King, forming virtually the Privy Council of the Crown.

To give the reader an idea of the composition and respective elements of the Hungarian legislature, under the constitutional regime, we shall present the dietetic statistics of an average year. There were probably about 696 members in the Diet, exclusive of the Palatine. Of these 241 were magnates, 30 ecclesiastics, and 189 representatives of absent magnates, leaving 98 deputies of provincial comitatus.

These members were classed in four orders:—

1. The High Catholic Clergy.
2. The Reich's Barons, *Grafs* and Barons.
3. The Inferior Nobles and their Representatives.
4. The Deputies of Royal Free Towns.

The Roman Catholic Establishment in Hungary presented the following results a few years since:—1. Archbishop of Gran, Primate of Hungary; 2. Archbishop of Calotsa; 3. Archbishop of Erlau. 18 Roman Catholic Diocesan Bishops (Transylvania included); 16 Titular Bishops; 22 Abbots, with revenues; 124 Titular Abbots; 41 High Provosts and Provosts, with revenues; 70 High Priests and Provosts, without revenues; 207 Prebendaries; 67 Honorary Canons, divided into 23 chapters; 2782 Priests; 448 Local Chaplains; 1928 Assistants.

The Greek United Church had three bishops, with a voice in the Diet since 1790. The whole of the salaries of the Catholic clergy amounts probably, on an average, to about 1,379,300 florins.¹ The income of the clergy in the three United Greek bishoprics is only about 79,850 florins, to which has been added, since 1796, a fund of 30,000 florins.

The Non-United Greek Church has one archbishop, seven bishops, and 1505 churches. There are also thirty-two Unitarian churches in Transylvania.

¹ 1 florin = 2 shillings.

The standing army of Hungary consisted usually of twelve infantry, and ten hussar regiments. An infantry regiment on the peace establishment had 3857 men, and a hussar regiment 1698 men; hence the whole strength of the regular force was 63,000 men. The numbers were greatly increased in time of war; and we have seen a magnificent force of above 200,000 men in the field in 1849; but this fine army was in a great measure recruited from *Honveds*, or the militia.

The word hussar is said to come from *hucz* = 20, signifying that one soldier was taken from every twenty men in the country.

Before we drop the subject of the Government of Hungary,¹ it is important for the English reader to remember that it was only at the Diet of 1687, that Leopold, Emperor of Austria, prevailed on the Hungarians to make the throne hereditary in his family, and that the Magyars only agreed to this arrangement on condition that the Hapsburgs should govern Hungary according to its laws, after swearing to the Constitution in their coronation oath. Yet, ever since that period, scarce a year, much less a reign has elapsed, without the Austrians attempting, and often succeeding, in violating the Constitution. Hence the Hungarians were repeatedly absolved from their allegiance to the Hapsburgs.

Hungary being by far the most important and interesting part of Austria, especially in the present struggle,—because, if free and allied to us, Turkey would be safe and Russia lost,—we shall attend somewhat minutely to this important country in the following pages.

Those who wonder at the disaffection of Hungary towards Austria are referred to the “Crimes of the House of Hapsburg,” by Francis Newman, and they will discover that it is Austria which is the rebel, and the violater of oaths, and that Hungary has legitimate rights on her side. And those who wonder at the disaffection towards Austria among her Slavonic population, and the hatred born to her by the Servians, are requested to remember that Austria has repeatedly betrayed them, especially in 1849, and at the beginning of this century, in the insurrectionary war of Servia. Hence, as the whole of Eastern Austria is ready to explode, we shall pay some attention to this critical part of the question, beginning with an outline of the statistics of Hungary.

This kingdom is divided into four districts, and fifty-two counties, *Gespanschaften*, or comitatus² (exclusive of Transylvania).

¹ An excellent account of the Hungarian Constitution will be found in Paget's “Hungary and Transylvania;” also in Elliot's Travels.

² The First District contains, 1. The Pressburger Comitatus, embracing 82 square German miles; population, 196,648. Pressburg, the capital, reckons 32,159 inhabitants. 2. The Neutraer Comitatus, with 121 square miles; population, 310,689 souls. Neutra, the capital, the seat of a bishopric, contains 3848 inhabitants. 3. The Trenchiner Comitatus has 87 square miles, with a population of 239,706. The capital, Trenchin, numbers 2131 inhabitants. 4. Arvaer Comitatus embraces 34 miles; population, 84,702. Kubin, the chief town, has only 540 souls. 5. Liptoer Comitatus, with 42 square miles; population, 62,205. The capital, Sz. Miklos, contains 4162 souls. 6. Thurotzer Comitatus embraces 21 miles, with a population of 38,235. Capital, Sz. Marton, 1906. 7. Barscher Comitatus has 49 miles, a population of 101,379. Arany Maroth, the capital, contains 1775 souls. 8. Zalyomer, or Sopler Comitatus, embraces 50 square miles, with a population of 54,117. Neusohl, the capital, contains 10,069 inhabitants. 9. Great Houthier Comitatus embraces 46 miles;

The physical characteristics of Hungary may be summed up in the following broad results :—After leaving Waitzen, on the road from

population, 85,414. Capital, Ipoly-Sagh, 785. 10. Komorner Comitatus, embracing 53 miles; population, 98,760. Komorn, the capital, contains 9283. 11. Nevgrader Comitatus embraces 77 square miles; population, 162,094. Balassa Gyarmath, the capital, has 4286 souls. 12. Pesth Comitatus, with Pilis and Solt, embraces 191 square miles; population, 310,651. The capital, Pesth, reckons 70,000 inhabitants. 13. Jazygiener Comitatus embraces 17 square miles, with a population of 43,043. The capital, Jasz Bereny, numbers 12,088 souls. 14. The Little Cumanier Comitatus embraces 47 miles, with a population of 41,346 souls. The capital, Telegg-haza, reckons 9105 souls. 15. Basch Comitatus embraces 170 square miles, with 248,872 inhabitants. The capital, Baja, contains 4896 souls. 16. Tschai-Kistener Comitatus has 35 square miles, with a population of 21,265.

DISTRICT II.—17. Wieselburg Comitatus contains 35 square miles, and 54,026 inhabitants. The capital is Wieselburg, with 2426 inhabitants. 18. Eedenburger Comitatus, 57 square miles; population, 158,156. Capital, Eedenburg, 12,422 inhabitants. 19. Eisenburg Comitatus, 96 square miles; population, 294,125. Capital, Stein am Anger, 2167. 20. Szalader Comitatus, 100 square miles; population, 222,652. Capital, Egersek, 3044. 21. Weszprimer Comitatus, 74 square miles; population, 142,384. Capital, Weszprim, a bishopric, with 4521 inhabitants. 22. Raaber Comitatus, 28 square miles; population, 62,077. Raab, 10,788. Graner Comitatus, 19 square miles; population, 41,294. Capital, Gran, an archbishopric, with 5445 inhabitants. This is the birth-place of their celebrated king, Stephen. 24. Stuhl Weissenburg Comitatus, 75 square miles; population, 104,090. Weissenburg, capital, with 12,365 inhabitants. 25. Tolnaer Comitatus, 65 square miles; population, 145,271. Capital, Szexard, 3412 inhabitants. 26. Schuhmegher Comitatus, 114 square miles; population, 168,602. Capital, Koposvar, with 2324 inhabitants. 27. Baranyaer Comitatus, 91 square miles; population, 148,681. Capital, Funfkirchen, with 8487 inhabitants.

DISTRICT III.—28. Zipser Comitatus, 66 square miles; population, 109,949. Capital, Leutseau, with 4445 inhabitants. 29. The Sixteen Towns; population, 42,347. Capital, Iglo, 5252. 30. Saroser Comitatus, 65 square miles; population, 141,745. Capital, Eperies, with 7427 inhabitants. 31. Zempliner Comitatus, 108 miles; population, 230,491. Capital, Ujhely, with 6327 inhabitants. 32. Abaujvarer Comitatus, 52 square miles; population, 123,938. Capital, Kaschau; population, 8647. 33. Unghvarer Comitatus, 5959 miles; population, 79,041. Capital, Unghvar, with 4967 inhabitants. 34. Beregher Comitatus; population, 82,447. Capital, Bereghszasz, 4226 souls. 35. Tornaer Comitatus, containing 10 square miles, with a population of 19,817; the capital, Torna, containing 1223 souls. 36. Gomorer, united to the Houth Comitatus, 76 square miles; population, 144,132. Capital, Pelsotz, 2102 souls, and Rimaszomb, 3138. 37. Bonsorder Comitatus, 65 square miles; population, 137,340. Capital, Miskolc, with 13,556 souls. 38. Heves Szolnoker Comitatus, containing 120 square miles, with a population of 178,445. The capital is Erlau, a bishopric, with 16,112 inhabitants. 39. Great Cumania, containing 20 square miles, with a population of 32,624. The capital is Kartzag, with 8436 souls. 40. Csongrader Comitatus, embracing 62 square miles; population, 64,217. Capital, Szegedin, 25,692.

DISTRICT IV.—41. Marmaroser Comitatus, containing 178 square miles; population, 109,983. Sziget, capital, with 6455 souls. 42. Uogotscaer Comitatus, 22 square miles; population, 34,392. Capital, Nagy-Szolos, with 2144 inhabitants. 43. Szathmarer Comitatus, having 10,689 miles, with a population of 159,285 souls; the capital, Nagy-Karoly, containing 7567. 44. Szaboltzer Comitatus, 115 square miles, with a population of 229,676 persons; the capital, Nagy-Kalo, having 3132. 45. The Haiduken Stadte embrace 17 square miles, with a population of 24,292 souls. 46. Biharer Comitatus has 200 square miles, and 396,037 souls. Capital, Gross Wardein, a bishopric, with 8765 inhabitants, and Debreezin, with 38,962. 47. Bekaser Comitatus, 65 square miles; population, 93,411. Capital, Gyula, with 4236 inhabitants. 48. Arader Comitatus, 108 square miles; population, 185,170. Capital, Boras-Teno, with 3877. 49. Szanader Comitatus, 29 square miles; population, 34,641. Capital, Mako, 6477. 50. Torontaler Comitatus, 132 square miles; population, 207,878. Capital, Gross-Beskeskerek, 2171

Vienna to Pesth, the traveller enters on that plain which forms the eastern half of Hungary. The scenery is peculiar, consisting in a dry, sandy common, sometimes totally without vegetation, frequently with scarcely enough to bind together the sand which is drifted by the wind into hillocks in some places. Here and there you meet some acres of turf, and farm-houses, with a few fields. Let the reader pass his eye over the map from Waitzen to Pesth, from Pesth to Debreczin, from Debreczin to Gross Wardein, from Gross Wardein to Temesvar, and thence to Szegedin back to Pesth, and he will scarcely find a single elevation. Yet this vast basin, though so extensive, is often of the richest fertility even when uninhabited, and the prodigious marshy tracts, on both sides of the Theiss, are mainly the result of Austrian misgovernment, which has scathed this fine country for three centuries.¹

In other parts, especially in the east and north, by the valley of the Waag and the Carpathians, Hungary presents picturesque, romantic, and sublime scenery, and it offers some of the most magnificent forests to be found out of America. Under a free government, it would undoubtedly become one of the finest countries in the world; but blessings become curses in the hands of the Hapsburgs.²

It is estimated that there are thirty square miles of drift-sand in the Pesth Comitatus alone. Several years ago, a German writer gave to Austria 11,749 Austrian square miles of waste land, of which 543 belonged to Hungary. Now, since Hungary contains 4097 Austrian square miles, between one-seventh and one-eighth of its lands were supposed to be uncultivated.

The forest of Bakony, near the Drave, is one of the finest in Hungary. It consists chiefly of oaks, and contains many thousand trees seven feet in diameter. These forests are very important for pasture in summer, when the heat of the sun in the plains is scorching. Accordingly you frequently meet immense droves of swine in them, which are nourished on their acorns.

The entire forest-land in Austria was estimated by a late author at 24,000,000 jochs,³ of which 8,900,000 belonged to Hungary. A joch is one-tenth of an Austrian square mile. The Servian breed of swine approaches nearer than any other to perfection. The swineherds of the forest are a half-savage set of men, consisting of a hybrid race, half-banditti, half-shepherds. The Juhaz of the Schumegher Comitatus used to be notorious in this respect. Their dress consists

inhabitants. 51. Temesvar Comitatus, 116 square miles; population, 235,370. Capital, Temesvar, 11,098. 52. Krassoer Comitatus, 103 square miles; population, 182,313. Capital, Lugos, 4587. 53. Varasdiner Comitatus, in Croatia, 34 square miles; population, 99,236. Capital, Varasdin, 4436 inhabitants. 54. Creutzer Comitatus, 34 square miles; population, 75,532. Capital, Creutz, 1819 inhabitants. 55. Agramer Comitatus, 108 square miles; population, 183,968. Agram, capital, with 17,266 inhabitants. 56. Slavonia. Vervezer Comitatus, 8389 miles; population, 131,104. Capital, Essek, 9231. 57. Posegaer Comitatus, 45 square miles; population, 66,118. Capital, 4112. 58. Sirmiener Comitatus, 43 square miles; population, 90,680. Capital, Buckovar, with 5669 inhabitants. (See Paget and Bright's Hungary, and Spencer's Turkey, Russia, &c.)

¹ Bright.

² Ibid.

³ One joch in Hungary, according to the statistic measures, consists of 1100, 1200, or 1300 klafters. It commonly bears such a proportion to the English acre, that 213·3 joch are equal to 312 acres.

of a shirt and wide trousers of coarse stuff, greasy linen, and sandals like those used by the Caffres. They wear round hats, large mantles of thick coarse woollen cloth, a belt, and a small axe with a long handle. This axe is a formidable weapon in their hands, as they seldom miss a mark at twenty or thirty paces, and the Austrian soldiers learned to keep at a respectful distance from them in 1849.

The Balaton, or Platten Sea, is a fine sheet of water. Its banks are generally low, its length is forty-five miles, and its width varies from three and a half to nine miles. Its general depth is trifling, the deepest part being only twenty-seven feet, and it is surrounded with numerous marshes.

The number of sheep in Hungary is supposed to amount to ten millions. The Hungarians are chiefly an agricultural people, though several manufactures were encouraged by the patriotic Count Szechenyi. Schwartner asserted that, particularly from the Scharoscher Comitatus, 10,000,000 ells of coarse linen are yearly brought to market. The Zips district is the head-quarters of this manufacture, yielding, besides the amount consumed by the peasants and citizens, 6,000,000 ells yearly.¹

The paper-mills in Hungary are numerous, especially on the Danube, but the paper yielded is inferior. There are sugar refineries at Edenburg, Fiume, and elsewhere. Spirits are distilled from grain, plums, &c., in a small way. Oil-mills have been established at Pressburg, near Gross Wardein, at Pesth, and south of Ofen. Fifty years ago, not less than 17,000 centners² of tobacco, dried and in the leaf, were purchased from the growers by the agents of Government.

The cloth and woollen manufactories in Hungary are unimportant, and little progress has been made of late, particularly since the deplorable Revolution. The amount of imports from neighbouring countries of the last-mentioned goods, used to be a few years ago 4,644,555 florins. The growth and manufacture of silk is much encouraged in Hungary, chiefly at Gross Wardein, Pressburg, and Pesth.

Several manufactories of glass and pottery are scattered over the country. Pipe-heads (meerschauks) are prepared at Pesth. There is a fabric of earthenware at Hofitsch, which is one of the most esteemed in the Austrian dominions. This manufactory employed seventy-six workmen in 1818, and the annual sale amounted to 200,000 florins.

The total produce of tobacco in Hungary amounted some years since to 254,973 centners.

The art of wooden-bridge building has been carried to great perfection in Hungary by the Austrian road architect, John Gross, who, in 1807-8, built a covered bridge over the Waag, in the country of Thurutz, on the principle of that of Schaffhausen. The most curious features in these Magyar structures is their small cost; the above was built for only 35,000 gulden, or about £3000. So cheap is labour and indigenous material in that country, which may help to account for the triumphant obstinacy of the resistance offered by it

¹ Paget.

² 1 centner = 125 lbs. avoirdupois.

to the Austrian arms, when we also reflect how readily gallant horsemen are to be obtained there, and how admirably the immense forests cover their retreat, or check the advances of an invader.

The annual returns yielded by Hungary to Austria, under the Constitution, used to amount to about £3,000,000.

After this outline of the statistics of Hungary, we shall enter into some particulars relating to the population, religion, and former government of this historical and most injured country.

Beginning with the races peopling Hungary, we have first the Magyars, the conquering race, the most energetic, handsome, gallant, and numerous of all. The Magyars are represented by Paget as amounting to three and a half millions. The most numerous class after them are the Slovaks or Sclavacks, a Slavonic race, who were long serfs to the Magyars, but emancipated by Kossuth and his generous partners. They amount to about 2,000,000. The other members of the Slavic race are estimated at 2,000,000 more, and the remainder of the ten or eleven millions forming the total population of Hungary, consists of Wallachs, Germans, Jews, Gipsies, &c.

Passing to the religions in Hungary, we find—

	Male Inhabitants.
Catholics (Roman and Greek).....	2,323,918
Lutheran.....	312,388
Calvinists.....	501,245
Non United Greek Church.....	558,069
	3,695,620

The total number of Lutherans in Hungary amounts to 800,000, and the Jews amounted some years since to 127,000.¹

Amongst the mixed population in Hungary, we find a large colony of Wallachians who still call themselves Romni, and who are spread throughout Transylvania, though the majority inhabit the Hungarian counties. Their religion is that of the Greek Church, united or non-united, and their whole number in the Austrian dominions amounts to 1,600,000, of whom 900,000 are in Transylvania, 550,000 in Hungary, and 150,000 in Bukowina. They bestow their chief care to the breeding of cattle, besides which, they cultivate vines and maize pretty generally.²

¹ Paget, Bright, &c.

² Urquhart represents the Wallachs in Austria as troublesome to the Government, and the chief cause of the present occupation of the Crimea. The whole Wallach race in Turkey and Austria amounts to 10,000,000.—*Political Fly-Sheets*. Invasion of the Crimea.

CHAPTER II.

THE NORTHMEN—THE DUKE IN DENMARK.

WITH feelings of deep respect and reverence, we approach those North Teutonic or Scandinavian races that founded the imperishable glory of our fathers, and achieved the greatest triumphs recorded in history. May a review of their greatness shame us out of our littleness, and stimulate us to cast away the leading-strings of diplomacy and the puerilities of our political system, and to do honour to the heritage of glory they have bequeathed to us! History has only seen one Gustavus Adolphus, England has not had a second Alfred, and Charles XII. of Sweden is without a peer. Notwithstanding the sneers of a sham philosophy in France, and the grovelling spirit of the money-lender, sweeping away the chivalry and generous virtues of the past, ages to come will tell with wonder of the splendour of their reigns, and their loyalty to duty, when the pigmy monarchs of this petty century shall have vanished like a vapour, without leaving even a lasting shadow on the page of history.

The maudlin sentimentality of our Peace Societies, and the chink of dollars, is fast undermining the small relic of the grandeur of antique virtue left among us. We are almost ashamed of the faith of our fathers, and the patriotism of our statesmen and the valour of our warriors will soon be a record of the past. The grandeur of the Gothic race is undermined by the love of gold, and that lever in the hands of Russia will snatch from us the sceptre of the world.

Let us pass in review the high deeds of our fathers, in the hope of raising a slight blush on the cheek of this degenerate age.

In very early times, north Gothic tribes, Saxons, Frieslanders, and Franks, had dared the terrors of the deep; but the Danes, Norwegians, and Scandinavians, were especially noted for their bold, seaman-like spirit. Anglo-Saxons and Juts passed into England, and gradually multitudes of rovers skimmed over all the northern seas, swarming into the surrounding countries, and leaving a deposit of fearless spirits by the way. Such has been the perpetual exodus of the Gothic race. Many chapters might be filled with the names of ancient Vikings who ploughed the waves in search of adventures; for our heroes, in ancient times, encountered danger face to face on the angry billows, instead of plotting protocols in London drawing-rooms. The whistling blast, the flying scud, the forked flash, the clash of steel,—such were the amusements of the predecessors of our present Ministers, men who prefer to plot mischief to their country in the cabinet, and sacrifice their countrymen in the field. We cannot, however, pass over the names of those of our gallant sires who were pre-eminently distinguished as conquerors and discoverers. Possibly, the sleek reader may start at the broad stretch of land grasped by our bold ancestors. Turning first to the East, we see Rurik (Roderick) with his brothers reducing the Emperor of Russia under Swedish sway, and founding a

state at Novgorod, subsequently developed into the Russian Empire; we see Oskold and Dir founded a state at Kiew, which was subsequently united to that of Novgorod; we see Ragnwald settling on the banks of the Duna, at Polotsk, becoming the originator of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. What do we see there now? Finland, constituting one half of Sweden, annexed to Russia; St. Petersburg built on Swedish ground; Denmark sold to Russia; and Norway betrayed by England;—in short, the whole of Scandinavia protected and awed by Russia, through the degeneracy of modern Northmen, and the concessions of British diplomacy.

Turning northwards, we see Nadod cast by a storm, in the great Atlantic, on the coast of Iceland, which soon became the refuge of the noblest families of Norway,—the home of liberty, like Britain, amidst the raging billows, and the theatre of brilliant phases of literature in the dark ages. Here, on this sterile rock, amidst the snows of the Pole and the boiling Geysers, the sacred flame of liberty beamed bright for 300 years, whilst it became the receptacle of the classic and sublime odes and lyrics of the Eddas and Sagas. The Scottish isles were occupied by Norwegian Jarls, who seized a portion of Ireland even in the time of Charlemagne, and who, under the name of Danes, Norskmen, and Normans, occupied the whole of the east and north of England for 200 years, and finally vanquished it under William the Conqueror.

Nor was France secure against their daring incursions. Rolf, afterwards christened Robert, seized Normandy, of which he became Duke, and was the founder of many royal dynasties. These Normans, who, with almost miraculous gallantry, seized Apulia, Calabria, Sicily, and, for a time, Jerusalem and Antioch from the Arabs, were adventurers from the Duchy founded by Rolf; and the successors of Tancred, who ultimately wore the crowns of Sicily and Apulia, were descended from them. If all the deeds of prowess were related which were performed by Normans,—on pilgrimages, in voyages, as mercenaries at Constantinople, almost in every sea and land, as far as Greenland and America, which they discovered and colonized long before Columbus,—the narrative would read like a romance.

Ere we introduce some of the most stirring and instructive episodes in Danish history, and describe the scenery of Northern fiords, we shall pause a moment to give a tabular view of the statistics of the two Scandinavian monarchies.

The insular and continental territory of Denmark amounts to 56,940 square miles, with a population of 2,364,747. The average annual budget is about 13,800,000 rix dollars.¹ The present king is Frederick VII.; and the nearest heir, by the protocol of London, May 8, 1852, is the Holstein Gottorp House, which occupies the throne of Russia. The Danish land force consists of twenty-three infantry battalions, twenty-seven squadrons, and two artillery regiments.

Sweden, with Norway, embraces a superficies of 360,080 square miles, with a population of 3,500,000. Its annual budget is about 12,470,040 dollars specie. The army consists of the regular Indelta army of 34,363 men, and the Landwehr, or Bevoering, of 130,000.

¹ 1 rix dollar specie (Danish) = 5 francs 66 cents.

Norway has 14,324 regulars, and 9180 landwehr. Oscar, the present king, is the son of John Bernadotte, known as Charles XIV. The Scandinavian fleets give the following results :—

Denmark.....	5 ships of line, 8 frigates, &c.
Sweden.....	10 do. 8 do.
Norway.....	2 do.
The Danish Fleet has one Vice and three Rear-Admirals.	
The Swedish, seven Admirals.	
The number of sailors on the three fleets is about 30,000.	

The history of the protection and annexation of Denmark will soon form an exact counterpart to that of Turkey; for Muscovy is determined to occupy the Sound as well as the Dardanelles. In both cases, we find British diplomacy and arms employed as tools by the Cabinet of St. Petersburg for the furtherance of its ends; and the bombardment of Copenhagen, as well as the treaties confirming the Danish succession in 1850-51, have been equally fatal to the liberties of Denmark and of Europe.

We are informed, on the best authority, that Gustavus III. of Sweden was duped by Catherine into signing a treaty which made the Baltic a closed sea to England; and Sweden as well as Denmark became protected countries. Hence, when the retaliation came, it fell on Copenhagen, and not on Cronstadt. The two bombardments of the Danish capital smote Stockholm as heavily as Copenhagen. An attempted bombardment of Constantinople by England was also the effect of Russian intrigue at the same time. The first expedition against Copenhagen (1801), says Bell, was imposed on England by the frantic and deceitful conduct of Paul. A Russian ambassador betrayed the secret article of the treaty for the occupation of Sweden, Portugal, Austria, Denmark, and Turkey, by Russia and France, and England bombarded Copenhagen again, and took their fleet. Thus the only barrier to Russian aggression in the Baltic was ultimately broken down.

Sweden remained true to England, which involved her in a war with Muscovy, by which she lost Finland. In 1812, at Abo, Alexander and Bernadotte agreed that Sweden should not reclaim Finland, and Russia promised the Swedes Norway as an indemnity. England was applied to, and acquiesced in favouring Russia, and intimidating Denmark into submission. The Danes and Norwegians were converted into stern foes of England. Sweden was weakened and Russia strengthened by these gallant strokes of British diplomacy. First, we have arson at Copenhagen; secondly, robbery of Norway in 1814, practised by England to advance the interests of Russia, and destroy our own.¹

The eyes of Gustavus III. were opened at a later period to the folly of his subserviency, and he wrote a masterly *exposé* of Russian duplicity in a work entitled the "Danger of Europe." But the chivalrous king had offended his northern master, and his reward was the assassin's bullet.

As a climax to these glorious events, we find that Russian intrigue

¹ Urquhart's "Progress of Russia," p. 162.

and diplomacy have wrought the following result in the affair of the Danish succession:—The abrogation of the succession of the *Lex Regia* makes the House of Gottorp the sole legitimate pretender to Holstein. The introduction of the principle of the indivisibility of the monarchy enables the Pretender to extend his claims to the whole of the Danish kingdom.¹

We shall not enter into the particulars connected with the attack on Copenhagen, conducted by Nelson in 1801, when the British fleet, inveigled by Russian arts, so nearly fell a prey to the folly of our diplomacy. Nor shall we dilate on the tendencies displayed by England during the contest in Holstein, and in the protocol of London, which resigned Denmark and the Sound to the Gottorps. The indiscretion which accompanied these operations has been discussed and criticised by other pens. But we shall present an epitome of the bombardment of Copenhagen in 1807, as described by Danish writers, because this phase of our diplomatic and military history is less known than it deserves to be, because the Duke took an active part in the campaign, and because it is a most instructive example of the manner in which Russian diplomacy handles its neighbours, by making us destroy and alienate our own friends and natural allies, and her obstructions, and by converting our actual hostility into a means of forwarding her own ambitious views.²

There is probably no portion of the Duke's military career with which this nation is so imperfectly acquainted as the short summer campaign in Denmark. Though the military operations on that occasion were on a limited scale, both as regards time and space, and entirely eclipsed by the splendour of his later victories, yet the operations in Zealand are calculated to interest the reader as the first instance in which the Duke appears as a leader on European ground, and against a European foe. The important results flowing from the successes of the Danish campaign, which in all probability saved England from invasion from France, whilst it helped to place Scandinavia at the feet of Russia, cannot fail to interest us at a moment when an aggressive Emperor, of Romanoff blood, occupies the throne of Russia. Nor can it fail to be instructive to follow the Duke in his secondary as well as primary operations, and learn all those master-strokes of strategy by which he saved the liberties and established the peace of Europe. Other names of historical interest also fill the lists of the gallant British force that sailed in the fleet commanded by Admiral Gambier on the 27th of July 1807, with orders to force the Danes to give up their fleet, that would otherwise have served Napoleon to bridge the Channel, and inundate the British soil with his veterans.

Among the English contingent, besides the honoured name of Wellesley, we meet with Hardinge (then a colonel in the artillery), Victor von Alten, General Stewart, Major-General Spencer, the Engineer Fletcher, Colonel Duplat, Colonel Beckwith, and others of the Peninsular and Waterloo men.

Thus it has appeared to us that we are only performing a national

¹ Urquhart's "Progress of Russia," p. 242.

² Baron Valentini's "Traite sur la Guerre contre les Turcs." Berlin. 1850.

and personal duty towards the great departed and his lieutenants, in giving some details of the Duke's engagement with the Danes at Kiøge.

It will be unnecessary to dwell any longer on the causes of the expedition, which must be quite familiar to our readers. The Peace of Tilsit had enlisted the Continent against Britain, which was, moreover, placed in a state of general blockade by the Continental System. Denmark's neutrality was about to be violated by a secret agreement between the Emperors of France and Russia, and the united navies of the Continent were to bridge the British Channel. Our Ministry, having received certain information of these alarming plans from Russian agents, were driven to the necessity of striking the first blow; and, whatever may be advanced against the expedition on the grounds of abstract right, it has materially contributed to the present dependence of Denmark on Russia.

The expedition reached Elsinore on the 2d of August at one P.M., and was there joined by Lord Cathcart, with the contingent from Stralsund, on the 13th. The land-force of the armament then amounted to 29,549 men, forming four infantry divisions, besides a corps of cavalry, artillery, and engineers.

The reserve division of the troops was placed under Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who, with his brows fresh crowned with the laurels of Assaye, now first began that series of victories on European ground which, in eight years, covered his own and his country's name with imperishable glory. This division contained only one strong brigade, under Major-General Stewart (4th, 52d, 92d, and 95th foot), or 4123 men.

Before we proceed to other matters, we may be permitted a few remarks on the opinion entertained at that time of the Duke's character, and on the circumstances under which he made his first appearance as a *leader* in European warfare.

Sir Arthur Wellesley had returned to England from India in 1805, after an absence of eight years, during which he had laid the foundation of his future greatness and popularity. We shall not dwell on his services in the East, which are familiar to us: suffice it to say that he was received in England with honours and regard, and invested with several important distinctions. In 1806 he took his seat in the House of Commons as member for Newport, in the Isle of Wight; and in the same year he had married the Honourable Catherine Pakenham, sister to the Earl of Longford. He was now in the prime of life (thirty-seven years of age), and gave clear indications in all his appointments, as well civil as military, of that iron will and consummate skill that he so often displayed in later years in the field and the cabinet. In 1807, he was appointed Chief Secretary in Ireland under the Duke of Richmond, and, among other measures, established a police in the city of Dublin, a step which was censured and opposed by many, but which has been amply vindicated by experience.

It appears from these facts, that Sir Arthur had already displayed a sufficient amount of military and diplomatic ability to fix the attention and command the respect of the British people and Government; but we are disposed to think that few, if any, at this time had any

prevision of the future eminence to which he was destined to attain. Though he had served in Holland in a subaltern station against the French, he had not hitherto led a British force in the field against a European foe, and it remained to be seen if the Sepoy General, who had gathered his first laurels on the burning plains of India, and wrested the victory from the grasp of Eastern satraps, would be equally successful against the discipline and strategy of the West. The sequel will show if the first blow he struck on European ground served to maintain the high reputation that he had won in the East.

Without dwelling on the general operations of the campaign, it will suffice to remark, that the armament landed on Sunday, the 16th August, at five P.M., without meeting any opposition from the Danes, and that Copenhagen was invested on the 17th.

The Danes were in a great measure taken by surprise, from the suddenness and secrecy of the stroke, and most of their measures betrayed hurry, indecision, and despondency. The greater part of their regular troops were in Holstein, guarding the neutrality of the Duchies from the French; and all assistance from that quarter was effectually debarred by the British cruisers in the Great Belt. An idiotic King, a Regent of patriotic heart, but limited capacity, and a timid Ministry, completed the catalogue of their misfortunes.

It is not our purpose to give a detail of the events of the siege, that was materially assisted and advanced by the operations of Wellesley in the field, which we propose now to relate somewhat circumstantially, deriving our information chiefly from authentic Danish sources.¹

The Danish force in Zealand, at the time of the landing of the British expedition, consisted almost entirely² of landwehr, and amounted to nineteen battalions, of which eight were appointed by the Crown-Prince for the defence of Copenhagen and Kronborg, thus leaving only eleven battalions (three of the North and five of the South Zealand regiments) disposable for field operations. The command of this force was confided to Lieutenant-General Castenskiold, the Colonel of the Zealand regiment of cavalry, being the senior general officer after the Governor of Copenhagen and Kronborg.

¹ See particularly Major H. J. Blom's *Krigstildragelserne i Sjoelland*, 1807. Copenhagen, 1845, p. 92 to 120. Thanch *Tildragelser i Sjoelland og Lolland under Beleiringen*, 1807. Kroten, 1808. Hindrichsens *Efterretning om Fegtningen ved Kioge*. A. C. Hansen's *Kiobenhavn's Leirkrandts*, 1807. *Seeland im Sommer*, 1807, a German work, &c.

² The regulars at Copenhagen consisted of the following troops:—

Cavalry.						Men.
Horse Guards,	...	...	...	...	...	90
Zealand Riders,	...	...	...	...	...	395
Hussar Exercise School,	...	...	...	...	...	45
						530
Infantry.						
Foot Guards,	...	...	...	...	...	320
Danish Liv Regiment,	...	...	...	...	...	1300
First battalion of the Norwegian Liv Regiment,	...	...	...	...	...	850
Grand total,						2000 regulars.

Major-General Oxholm was at the same time ordered to collect that part of the South Zealand regiment which inhabited the small islands,¹ and he was farther directed to operate, to the best of his ability, for the relief of Copenhagen.

General Castenskiold arrived at Copenhagen on the 13th of August, and took immediate measures for equipping and supplying the landwehr with ammunition, and despatching them to their rendezvous. His arrangements were, however, greatly impeded, and in some measure defeated, by hurry and oversight, and the equipments delivered from the arsenal only amounted to 2634 firelocks and 85,000 cartridges. Though each landwehr battalion was ordered to be accompanied by four three-pounders, only two were able to attend the whole force.

General Castenskiold left Copenhagen on the 16th of August for Ringstedt, where he found the battalions mustered, and marched next day to Roeskilde. No sooner had the British received intelligence of the movements of this Danish force, than they detached a party of the 3d hussars, under Colonel von Reden, on the afternoon of the 20th, to Glostrup, and the Colonel sent out a squadron under Ritmeister Küper, the same night, towards Roeskilde, to reconnoitre the Danes. An action ensued between the Hanoverian hussars and 120 Danish cavalry, under a gentleman of property, named Grandjean, in which the latter were worsted, and driven back to the entrance of Roeskilde, with the loss of sixteen men, and twenty-nine horses captured. The Hanoverians were received by a heavy fire on approaching the town, and induced to retire, though their loss only amounted to four men, and two horses wounded.

This encounter led Castenskiold to fall back, in the night between the 21st and 22d, to Kornerup and Allerslov, where he hoped to exercise his seven raw battalions in peace and quietness on the rising ground covered by the Leir river. At Allerslov he was overtaken by Quartermaster-General Wenzel-Hafner, who had been ordered by the Crown-Prince to join him, and henceforth acted as Castenskiold's second. The Danish force collected in that position only amounted now to 2800 infantry (each battalion averaging 400 men), and 300 horse, including 50 men of the Zealand cavalry (regulars), under Ritmeister Ludvigsen, who had been detached from the capital before the siege, and cut off by the British. Thirty men of the cavalry were from the Exercise School of Nestved, the remainder were landwehr, mounted on peasants' horses, that could not stand fire. Finally, the artillery of the corps was limited to nine guns—six three-pounders and three six-pounders, served by 100 men. Thus the grand total of the force was 3200 men; but this force was far from being in a serviceable state. It did not even reckon one officer for every company, and those that it had were men deficient in experience and self-reliance. Only 1674 firelocks had been supplied from the Copenhagen arsenal, and they were obliged to provide the remaining men with fowling-pieces and scythes, &c. &c. There was, moreover, a deficiency of ammunition, especially for the artillery, and they were reduced to

¹ The small islands (Smaaoen) are Moen, Lolland, and Falster, situated near Zealand.

cast balls from the lead stript from the church-roofs, &c. Abundance of provisions was, however, lavishly supplied by the patriotism of the peasantry. The privates were indefatigable and well-disposed, though taken from their farms in harvest-time, and though they must have readily detected the inefficiency of the defensive measures that were adopted.

The landwehr of the small islands were far from showing such a good spirit as their neighbours of Zealand. They had only enlisted to serve in their own districts, and the men of Lolland and Falster showed from the first every disposition to resist the orders that threatened to remove them from their homes.

General Oxholm, who had been commissioned to muster and march them to the relief of the capital, found this no easy undertaking. The contingent supplied by the islands of Moen, Falster, and Lolland, consisted of the four last battalions of the South Zealand regiment.

The General left Copenhagen on the 15th August, and proceeded at once to levy and inspect the force; and on the 22d he received, at Maribro, a despatch from the Crown-Prince, dated the 18th, directing him to unite himself to Castenskiold. On the afternoon of the 22d, Oxholm received another written despatch from the Crown-Prince at Kiel, pressing his departure, which induced him to march the battalion to the passage on the 23d. After much opposition and some insubordination, the four battalions were transported over to Zealand; the 7th and 8th, on the 25th and 26th, over the Gaabense to Vordingberg; the Falster and Moen battalions, on the 27th, by way of Koster, to Kallehave. The two former battalions passed through Proesto, Omegn, and Faxe, to Kioge, where they took up quarters on the 28th. The two latter almost overtook their comrades by a forced march, and arrived at the outskirts of Kioge between nine and ten A. M. on the 29th; but both detachments were exhausted with their march, and in want of rest.

After General Castenskiold had received, in his camp at Kornerup, the order of the Crown-Prince to unite himself with General Oxholm, he marched on the 26th of August to Kioge, where he quartered his troops in the town, the surrounding country, and a camp that had been erected to the north of the place. It appears that, probably in consequence of this movement, the English reserve division, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, was detached from the besieging army, in the direction of Roeskildekro, on the following day. This village was the point of union of the roads between Roeskilde and Kioge to the capital, and it was now occupied by the 43d, 52d, and 92d regiments, under Brigadier-General Stewart, by the first battalion of the 95th Rifles, under Colonel Beckwith, and a battery of horse-artillery, under Captain Newhouse, to which were afterwards added a body of Hanoverians under General Linsingen, consisting of eight squadrons, and the sixth battalion of the German Legion, with a battery of horse-artillery under Captain Sympher—forming a grand total of 6000 men. On their arrival at Roeskildekro, two squadrons under Colonel von Reden were detached to Vallensboek, to observe the coast-road from Kioge, and cover the besieging army from any attempts on that side—all the remaining cavalry being posted at the right wing, which con-

sisted of the 43d, five companies of the 95th, and the sixth battalion of the German Legion, forming one infantry brigade, under Colonel Holmstedt, with half a battery of horse-artillery under Captain Witzleben. These troops, forming together a body of about 2500 men, under General Linsingen, were detached early the following morning to Roeskilde, probably under the impression that Castenskiold was still posted at Kornerup, or approaching on that side. But when Linsingen, on his arrival at Roeskilde, had informed Sir Arthur that the Danish general had long since left for Kioge, the hero of Waterloo determined to attack the Danes immediately in the latter position. He deferred his attack, however, till the following day, in order to give time for Linsingen's corps to take some rest after its useless march to Roeskilde. Meanwhile, it was arranged between the commanders that Linsingen should start early the following morning from Roeskilde, in order to pass over the Kioge river at Little Sakby, and fall on the left wing of the Danes; while Wellesley, with the main body, and the two squadrons of hussars under Colonel von Reden, should follow the high road to Kioge, to attack them in front.

The Zealand portion of the landwehr, which, as we have seen, had passed the whole of the preceding day at Kioge, had stood to arms on the 29th at five A.M., and marched out to exercise, the two Lollandish battalions remaining in their quarters in the town, being fatigued by the previous day's march. A battalion of Falster landwehr, which had arrived later than the other troops, had bivouacked during the night along the ditches by the highway outside of Kioge, and was in the act of taking up its quarters when intelligence arrived from the outposts that the enemy was advancing from the other side of Skillingskroen. General Castenskiold immediately ordered General Oxholm to take the two battalions first at hand with two guns, and advance to meet the enemy, whilst he proceeded to muster the remainder of the force at Sletten to the north, and in front of Kioge. We might have ventured, on a previous occasion, to censure the strategy of Castenskiold, when he unnecessarily attracted the enemy's attention by approaching Roeskilde and diverging from Oxholm; and we are here compelled to blame his tactics when we see him attempting to form a union with his colleague at Kioge, one of the most exposed positions in the whole country, especially when he added to his blunder by drawing up his troops in a perfectly accessible plain, with a trading town in their rear, whose streets and lanes formed so many narrow defiles, besides the obstruction presented by a considerable river, too deep to be forded, and provided with a single bridge.

Having once committed the error of marching to Kioge, his only resource would have been to have posted his force to the south of the town, by which means his front would have been protected by Kioge, its river, and the old churchyard, and his rear would have been secured by a considerable wood that would have afforded a refuge for his broken troops, and secured them from the pursuit of cavalry.

It was nine o'clock A.M., according to the British accounts, when Sir Arthur Wellesley approached Skillingskroen, where he drew up his infantry in single line, the left wing resting on the shore, and the two squadrons, under Colonel von Reden, forming the extreme right.

He remained stationary in this position above an hour, in order to await the arrival of Linsingen. This circumstance accounts for General Oxholm's finding time to accomplish his commission, by calling out the two Lollandish battalions, and supplying them with thirty cartridges per man. As this occupied some time, the British had passed Skillingskroen before they approached Olsomagle. Oxholm marched out his two battalions to the vicinity of that village, and occupied it provisionally with two companies, till the Falster battalion could come up to relieve them. Eighty horsemen were posted on the right wing near the shore, and two guns under Lieutenant Schultes swept the front of the position. But the hurry with which they were ordered out had prevented their bringing a sufficient supply of ammunition; and an officer who was sent into Kioge to fetch some, brought back word that the tumbrils were locked in the church and the keys missing. It was not long, therefore, before Lieutenant Schultes, having expended his ammunition, was forced to retire, whilst the British, bringing up their battery of horse-artillery of twelve guns, began to play on the Danish lines. The horses of one of Schultes's guns being killed, it was abandoned and fell into the enemy's hands, and when Oxholm ordered his horse to recover it, they were met with a shower of hand-grenades, and held in check. As soon as this was seen by the infantry, they began to give way, and soon broke into a rapid flight till they reached the ditches and gardens that encircle the town of Kioge.

Meanwhile General Castenskiold had found time to draw up his four Zealand battalions in a single extended line in front of Kioge, having his horse on the right near the shore, probably to cover the advance of the infantry and the six guns that were in position there. The rest of the infantry did not debouch from Kioge or cross the river; whether from accident or purposely, remains uncertain.

Wellesley, who had not as yet come into communication with his right corps under Linsingen, had advanced hitherto leisurely on that account; but the moment he perceived that the Danes were making a movement to the left, which was nothing more than the last battalions debouching from Kioge, who sought to continue their advance in that direction, he determined to throw back his right wing and make an attack *en echelon* from the left wing, which should be covered by the rifles of the first battalion, 95th regiment, and the battery of horse-artillery under Newhouse. It fell to the 92d (Gordon Highlanders), under Lieutenant Colonel Napier, to head the attacking column, followed by the 43d and 52d, under General Stewart. Since no Danish accounts describe this part of the action, we must derive our information exclusively from British sources, which state that the landwehr drew back to some field-works that they had thrown up in front of the camp outside of Kioge, and that as soon as the 92d brought down its bayonets to charge the Danish cavalry, was ordered to fall on their left flank. This movement determined Wellesley to call up his two squadrons from the right wing to protect the left; it even induced him to hold back the 43d from joining the column of attack, so as to meet any flank movement of the Danes, and act as reserve to the *echelon*. This proves that Sir Arthur entertained some respect for the forces opposed

to him, and that under more competent leaders they might have made a sturdier resistance. These movements led to an attack of Colonel von Reden's hussars, which seems to have dispersed the small body of Danish horse opposed to them. The fifth landwehr battalion which stood nearest to the shore, and had already suffered from the enemy's grape-shot, to which Captain Qvistgaard fell a sacrifice, appears now to have drawn back. As, however, the *tirailleurs*, who had been thrown out, still continued to maintain the ditches lying before the town, the 92d regiment charged the intrenchments with the bayonet, throwing back the whole of the landwehr in wild disorder into the town. The tumult was naturally augmented by the narrowness of the streets, and rose to the highest pitch when the British brought up a couple of guns to the gate and swept the streets with grape-shot. It was only at the bridge where General Oxholm had posted four cannon and a part of the Moen battalion under Captain Bjerring, that any resistance was offered to the advance of the British. They were, however, soon overwhelmed by Wellesley, who, crossing the river, came again into communication with his long-expected flank-corps under General Linsingen.

The latter had set out the same morning at five P.M. from Roeskilde, and rejoined at Orsted two squadrons under Major Grote, which had been despatched thither the night before to obtain information about Castenskiold's division. They had succeeded the same night in capturing two prisoners, one of whom carried an account of the British force and movements to one of the Danish commanders; besides which, a train of thirty waggons, with provisions destined for Castenskiold, had fallen into their hands. After a short rest, Linsingen continued his march by Ladager to Eiby, where he halted, doubtful whether to proceed over the Kioge river towards Yderholm, or to Lellingegaard. A reconnoitering patrol under Major Plessen having found the road to the first-named town dangerous, by reason of the woody ground between Eiby and Dalby, besides being impeded by a morass, determined Linsingen to march on to Lellingegaard. Major Plessen's detachment followed the left bank of the river, passing through Spanager, thus covering the right flank of the main column, which arrived at Eiby at half-past nine A.M. At Lellingegaard, Major Plessen found the bridge broken down, which obliged his detachment to wade through the river, and wait for the infantry on the south side of the stream. As soon as the infantry reached the river, the pioneers were obliged to repair the bridge, which occupied half an hour, and even then the infantry was forced to pass in file, whilst the horse-artillery was obliged to ford the river. Nevertheless they met with no opposition from the Danes, who, after having broken down the bridge, seem to have left the passage quite undefended. Having crossed to the south of the river, Linsingen prosecuted his march through Lellingegaard, and passed on between the river and the wood, which he reconnoitred by a detachment of the 43d regiment, supported by four squadrons under Colonel Victor von Alten, which advanced in the direction of Kioge. Meanwhile two squadrons under Major Plessen were sent through the wood to the right of the column to take possession of the bridge at Sollerup, between Herfolge and

Soeder, thus cutting off the retreat of the Danes. The main body, consisting of the 43d, with the 6th battalion of the German Legion, followed them in line, the artillery filling the interval. If we except a slight dropping fire from a detachment of landwehr posted there, who fell back on the wood, and most of whom were taken or cut down, the Hanoverians met with very little resistance; and when they reached the opposite side of the wood, the whole mass of the Danish landwehr were seen in full flight from Kioge, and the junction was immediately effected with Wellesley.

A portion of the Danish militia showed more spirit in this action than the majority of their comrades, who ran away, throwing down their arms and accoutrements to hasten their flight. Not so some of them, especially the 2d battalion, under Major Count Molske, and the 5th battalion, both belonging to the South Zealand regiment. Many of these fired out of the windows in Kioge on the Hanoverian cavalry, and were bayoneted by the British infantry; others threw themselves behind the corn-ricks in the fields, and fired from behind them on their pursuers. The greater part of them were sabred or captured, but not without inflicting some loss on the Hanoverian hussars. Lieutenants Rudorf and Jansen of the latter force were wounded, the former mortally; sixteen hussars were also put *hors de combat*, and twenty-two horses injured, a loss that fell chiefly on the 3d hussar regiment.

After Wellesley had effected his junction with Linsingen on the other side of Kioge, he confided the pursuit to the latter with his cavalry and horse-artillery. A body of fugitives, which took the road to Vale, was well peppered by Captain Witzleben, who soon silenced their guns. Eighteen ammunition waggons were captured by Colonel von Alten; and soon after, fifty waggons, similarly laden, fell into the hands of Major Plessen's hussars, when the latter came out of the wood at Aashi.

Meanwhile General Oxholm had succeeded in collecting a body of the fugitives, with which he occupied the elevated churchyard at Herfolge, with the view of giving General Castenskiold the opportunity of collecting some more fugitives on the heights behind. But Oxholm's force, which some describe as 120, others as 400 men, was in all cases too small to offer any effectual resistance to the pursuers. When, therefore, Linsingen, after passing Clemenstrup, commanded Colonel von Alten to attack the Danes, the latter brought up his horse-artillery, and played on the churchyard from the slopes to the east, whilst some rifles of the 95th attacked them in front, and four squadrons surrounded them on the left flank. General Oxholm would now have retired into the church, but as it could not be opened without using violence, which would occupy some time, he sent an officer to the British to offer to surrender. When the gate of the churchyard was opened to let him out, sixteen Hanoverian hussars and Lieutenant Schuering seized the opportunity to rush into the cemetery, a few shots being interchanged on both sides. Lieutenant Baron Wedel Jarlsberg received two sabre-cuts in the arm; and the affair ended in General Oxholm and the few who surrounded him being disarmed about four o'clock, with the loss of two dead and thirteen wounded.

The British cavalry and horse-artillery continued its pursuit to Soeder, where a large body of Danes were taken prisoners, and where the former halted, as they lost sight of the fugitives on the road to Nestved, whither Castenskiold conducted his retreat, and where he managed to collect, the following day, two battalions, 250 horse, and four guns. But as he did not think himself strong enough to undertake anything with this force, he let the Zealand landwehr return home, and proceeded through Kallehave and Vordinborg to Moen and Falster in the beginning of September, only retaining a few horsemen and some infantry from the small islands. The British infantry, being unable to follow the cavalry, had halted at Svansbjerg, whence Linsingen took the road to the right through the wood by Taagerd, in the direction of Gjorsler, in order to cover the right flank of his cavalry posted on the eminences at Soeder. This body of cavalry was, however, soon recalled, to cover Wellington's headquarters at Kioge, by a chain of outposts from Lellinge through Aashi Svansbjerg and Herfolge to Vidskolle, while, at the same time, Linsingen followed the road to Ringstedt with his infantry, whither a part of the landwehr had directed its flight.

The loss of the Danes at Kioge was loosely stated as 100 killed, including Captain Qvistgaard, the proprietor of Vibygaard, at Roeskilde, and 150 wounded, including Captain Norager, who received a shot in his foot, from the effects of which he afterwards died, besides Lieutenant Kretschmann, Rist, and Wedel-Jarlsberg. General Oxholm, with 57 officers and 1100 men, were taken prisoners, and the captured ordnance amounted to nine guns.

For the next few days, Linsingen with his cavalry continued his march through Ringsted and Nestved to Vordinborg, whence, having ascertained that the landwehr had passed back to the small islands, he turned back to Nestved, and after a halt of two days he proceeded thence to Korsor, in order to satisfy himself that no collection of armed peasantry had taken place in all that part of the country. In the meantime, Wellesley with the infantry took up a central position between Roeskilde, Ringsted, and Kioge, with his head-quarters in Bloesenborg Kro, at Lethrabort. The landwehr officers, who had been captured at Kioge, were conducted the day after the action in eleven waggons, under an escort of Hanoverian hussars, to Rygaard, on the way to Ørdrup, where they were visited by Lord Cathcart, and the day after their arrival they received the permission to travel home, without being bound by parole not to serve again during the war. The captured privates, on the other hand, were all taken on board the British fleet, to prevent the repetition of a similar attempt.

Such was the action of Kioge, which freed the besieging army from all insults on the flank and rear, and displayed on a small scale the same decision and military intuition that shone forth in a bright light afterwards at Salamanca and Waterloo. The siege was now rapidly prosecuted, the bombardment began on the 2d September, taking three days, and doing much damage to the city. The distress of the citizens, and the hopeless nature of the defence, then induced General Peyman, the Governor, to capitulate. Sir Arthur Wellesley was one of the commissioners on the British side, and helped to draw up the articles, which consigned eighteen noble line-of-battle ships, seventeen

frigates, and eight brigs, into our hands till the Peace, and broke down another barrier to Russia.

The British fleet and armament left Denmark on the 21st October, having as usual, in those days, rapidly and successfully accomplished their object; nor was the action at Kioge, which gave a sure presage of the Duke's future success, without an important influence on the result of the campaign.

CHAPTER III.

FINMARK AND LAPLAND.

WE must now pass to the sister kingdom of Sweden, and especially to that part of it which borders on Russia, forming the districts known as Finmark and Lapland, reaching as far as the North Cape, and bringing us to the vicinity of the White Sea and Archangel, which are now blockaded by a British squadron.

It is important for the reader to bear in mind, that the regions now in review once belonged to Denmark, from which they were wrenched by England in 1814, and that Russian diplomacy has already reduced Finmark almost to a dependent state by certain anomalous commercial regulations, which the Swedish Government has been weak enough to tolerate. Here, as elsewhere, we meet the Northern Colossus stretching out his feelers, and smoothing the way for future aggression by insidious and artful manœuvres. We have already had occasion to observe, that Russia covets, and is resolved to obtain, the fiords of Norway and a seaboard on the Atlantic, and she is advancing steadily and cautiously in her march of encroachment by securing most of the trade of Finmark in her own hands. Though it were now in our power to put a final check to this insidious system, and to prevent the future settlement of the Muscovite among the Norwegian fjeldes, yet we are not certain to succeed in this desirable object if the White Sea blockade is carried on with equal caution to that in the Black Sea, and if Northern Vladimirs are allowed to make excursion-trips to the Downs and the Nore.

In order to familiarize the reader with the glens and coves of Norway and Finmark, now the home of a free and happy people, but shortly to become the prey of that insatiate race, which considers it to be its manifest destiny to partition, enslave, and ruin all free countries, we shall introduce a few fragments illustrative of the life and scenery of these remote regions, from the pen of a Swedish professor¹ of eminent attainments, who visited this interesting portion of Scandinavia for the purpose of scientific observations.

There may be more fertile and smiling regions in more southern latitudes, where a glorious sun, a tropical vegetation, and a gorgeous

¹ Siljestrom.

sky, delight the eye, entrance the senses, and cheer the heart. But the sterner and sublimer features of the North have a beauty of their own, that can vie with the more voluptuous charms of the Equator, and nurture manly, though rugged virtues, unknown to the effeminate and indolent denizens of more luxuriant lands. Nor should the Englishman forget that many of his noblest privileges, and much of his best blood, are an heirloom from the tempestuous North, and that the old Vikings, issuing from the foaming fiords, and daring the maelströms and the breakers of those iron-bound coasts, flitting and scudding in their shadowy barks among the misty waters of Scandinavia, have handed down to us that massive and indomitable courage which has given us the Sceptre of the Deep and the Empire of the World. As a slight requital for the fund of energy and valour they have bequeathed us, let us show that the old Viking spirit still courses in our veins, defying the snares of diplomacy, the arts of the Muscovite, and the degeneracy of modern times.

Let us now accompany our worthy Swedish professor in some of his excursions and rambles in Finmark and Norway.

“Within the last few years, a single steam-boat (the *Prince Gustavus*) makes regular trips between Drontheim and Hammerfest, a voyage that they accomplish in seven days, including all the stoppages which are made at different trading-places by the way. This method of communication has been established by the Norwegian Government, whereas previously the travellers had no other conveyance than the fishing-boats. It is not probable that steam navigation would ever have been introduced here as a private speculation, for the voyages, at least at present, are made at a loss, because the fares of the small number of passengers, who frequent this coast, and the mail (charges), only manage to cover part of the expenses. Still the introduction of steam-boats has been of advantage to Nordland and Finmark; and no doubt here, as elsewhere, the facility of transit will attract many travellers. Many foreigners already travel as far as Hammerfest, for the purpose of visiting the North Cape, which lies about eight miles from there, and which presents to the eyes of the inquisitive tourist a promontory about 1000 feet high, dipping perpendicularly into the sea, like many other cliffs on that coast, but asserted to be the most northerly point of Europe—that is all; but many think it a sufficient reason to go to the North Cape, because it sounds well to say that you have been there. Weather and tide permitting, and if some profit can be derived from it, the steam-boat usually makes several pleasure-trips for amateurs to the North Cape every summer. Meanwhile you have thus, also, several opportunities of sailing in a steam-boat round the whole of Scandinavia, from the North Cape to Tornea. The steam-boat proceeds along the whole of the coast of Nordland, always within the rocky islands, sheltered from the sea by the massy chains of rock that only suffer a sea-view to be visible in a few places, or a sea-eye, as they say in Nordland, when the open sea shows itself between the rocky islands.

“We proceeded from Hammerfest to Kaafjord, and from there through *Stjærnsund*, passing out of the *Altenfjord*. Just at this place, you sail by the little island of *Loppen*, with a parish church for the parish of the same name, situated the farthest out towards

the sea, and inhabited by about thirty persons. This island being exposed to view, because the ocean is at this place free from the encumbrance of numerous rocks and reefs, presents one of the most beautiful sights in Finmark. Divine service had not been able to be performed in the church for near half a year, because the congregation had been unable to attend on account of the storms. The clergymen, who reside there for any length of time, severed as they are from all the amenities of nature and society, are often a prey to melancholy, at which I am by no means surprised. I was told of one who, during a residence of many years at Loppen, was so accustomed to the perpetual breaking of the sea on the shore, that when he was afterwards removed to a cure in the interior of the south of Norway, they were obliged every evening to put him to sleep by the murmuring sound of a spinning-wheel, to which they managed to give a measured sound, like that of the surf. But a residence of a few years in Finmark is rendered advantageous to clergymen, as well as all other officials, by future promotion, and this circumstance induces many to submit to this sort of exile.

“After a sail of twenty hours from Kaafjord, which we reached in six hours from Hammerfest, we arrived at *Tromsøe*, the chief town of Finmark, and also the residence of the bishop, whose see extends over Nordland and Finmark, and the authorities of Finmark. The town is built on an island of the same name, about one mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, and on a sound which separates the larger island of Hvaløe (Whale Island) from the continent. The sound is closed in all round by high mountains, of which one on the land-side is reported to rise more than 4000 feet above the level of the sea. The island of Tromsøe itself has only an elevation of 355 feet, even where it is highest. The surface of the rock scarcely shows itself anywhere, owing to the amount of vegetation and cultivation, which has been commenced: the island will probably, at some future day, be very pretty, and several country-houses have been already erected outside the town. Tromsøe contains about 1500 inhabitants, and has altogether a very agreeable appearance, and many handsome, detached houses: it carries on a brisk trade, and its merchants are thriving; and you may say, that to judge from the interior of their houses, no one would dream of his being to the north of the Polar Circle. The town received its privileges at the same time as Hammerfest: in the year 1801, it contained only eighty-four inhabitants; in 1825, they amounted to 738; and according to the last census (in 1835), to 1365. Its vicinity to the borders, between Finmark and Lofoten, has been favourable to its trade, and has occasioned this rapid increase. It constitutes the chief port for the produce of Finmark, and it carries on, at the same time, a much greater trade with Russia than Hammerfest. This trade forms the ground-work of the town's existence; but its vicinity to Lofoten has also had the effect of causing Tromsøe to become the market for a portion of the immense quantity of fish that is caught on that coast—a trade which otherwise would have remained almost exclusively a monopoly in the hands of the merchants of Bergen, but which now inclines every year more and more to Tromsøe. Nevertheless, the trade of the town is almost exclusively passive, and its own bottoms do not contain half the amount of tonnage of

those at Hammerfest; nor is there by any means so considerable an amount of shipping engaged in the fisheries towards the North Pole at the former, as at the latter place.

“Directly south of Tromsøe, we encountered the *Ryeström*, a current which chanced at that time to be running *against* us, with such violence, that the steam-boat, which usually made above eight knots an hour, could only advance with great difficulty: sailing-vessels never venture to encounter it, even with the best wind, when it is strongest. Currents of this description, occasioned by the tides, which rush into sounds or inlets, through which the sea, during the flood, pours violently in against the land, and, during the ebb, rushes back with similar vehemence, are found in great number among the reefs of Nordland. Amongst them, two are particularly remarkable, namely, the famous *Maelström*, between Moskenoes and Moskoe—two of the most southerly islands of the chain of Lofoten—a whirlpool that has been described in such a monstrous fashion, and the *Saltström*, which is formed in the great Saltenfjord, or, correctly speaking, by the open sea rushing through three small sounds into the large *skærstad-fjord*. The latter current is much more dangerous than the *Maelström*, but both are navigable at the momentary lull that occurs between the change from ebb to flood-tide; the *Maelström* may indeed be passed at any time you like with experienced boatmen. The circumstance, however, that renders these currents so much more dangerous than others, is a quantity of reefs and rocks which lie in their way, and which produce a number of whirlpools that either swamp the boat which is cast among them through improvidence, or else sink it down to the bottom. When a whirlpool seizes a boat, it is immediately overturned; but the rapidity with which this takes place causes some air to be preserved underneath it, so that breathing can be continued till the boat comes up again quickly, when help must be speedy to right it, and rescue the poor captive. However improbable it may appear, we learn that many have been saved in this way, but all have not sufficient presence of mind to make use of this means of safety. Certain it is, that the sea swallows up many a brave fisherman who ventures to approach the borders of the whirlpool in order to fish as long as possible in a shoal of herrings, which commonly station themselves in places of this nature.

“After a day’s rest at Tromsøe, we went farther along the coast of Senjen, the most southerly part of Finmark’s jurisdiction. The whole coast of Finmark, beginning from Altenfjord, was quite charming. I grant that the eye was met everywhere by lofty bald cliffs, but the scenery was diversified, and in the retiring fjords there appeared a rich vegetation, although it was not so far advanced as I had seen it before in Alten. We also sailed past various handsome farms and trading-places, encompassed by vegetation and foliage, especially in the most southerly parts of Senjen; amongst others, Sandtorv, which is the last farm in Finmark, situated near the handsome church of Throndennoes (one of the most ancient in Norway), on the island called Hindøe. You enter here the great *Vestfjord*, which stretches from south to north, enclosed on the east side by the bailiwicks of *Lofoten* and *Salten*, and on the west by the great chain of islands that constitute the bailiwick of *Vesteraalen* and *Lofoten*,

and of which the most remarkable islands are, *Andenoes*, *Langöe*, *Hindöe*, *Vestvaag*, *Flagstad*, *Moskenoes*, *Veröe*, and *Röst*, which is the most remote. The Vestfjord, which is quite narrow at its northern extremity, widens continually as it advances south, and tends more to the west when it reaches the chain of islands, so that *Röst* lies about ten miles distant from the mainland. From the moment that you enter on the rocky reefs of Lofoten, you are, as it were, in a new world—a world of desolation and deformity; and instead of meeting with a more genial nature at every step that you advance towards the south, you leave Finmark, in order to enter here on probably one of the most horribly ugly tracts upon earth. Every trace of natural beauty disappears here; not a blade of grass remains; nothing is seen but naked precipices, that scarcely suffer the bold Nordlander to scale them for birds' nests, besides pointed and severed mountains, of the most uncouth, fantastic forms, and the whole landscape wears a character of melancholy wildness, of which no idea can be formed. One would think that Nature had amused herself here, in being eccentric in her creations, such wonderful forms have the mountains, but likewise so various, that the eye does not soon weary of beholding these mighty, awful, irregularly-piled masses. In several places the rocks assume shapes that resemble some animal or man, and a legend of dwarfs or giants is attached to each of these, whose supernatural power is traced by the tale in the wonderful works of nature. Amongst these strange forms, one is especially remarkable, consisting of a cliff on the little island of *Hestmandöe* (horseman island), south of Lofoten, over which the Polar Circle passes. High up the cliff, about 1700 feet above the sea, the mountain presents the image of a man, with a wreath around his brow, seated on horseback, and looking out to sea, of such perfect proportions, such a well-formed breast, neck, and chin, that you might take it for a work of art. It was here that I saw one of the most picturesque scenes of nature: the setting sun, whose power over the summer nights ceases here, shining over the sea and the dark phantastic cliffs, which produced a wonderful effect of light and shade; a few scattered houses, of a dismal appearance, buried, as it were, among the precipices; the gigantic image of the *horseman*, looking out at the wide ocean, which was agitated by a storm, and foaming, as well as wonderfully lighted up; and, on the horizon, in the midst of the sea, some solitary rocks, dipping precipitously into the water, the summit of one being surrounded by a cloud of a fiery red, which seemed to burst forth from its interior like glowing lava. In connection with the legend about the horseman, we are reminded of that concerning Torghatten, one of the wonders of Nordland. It consists of a cliff, situated sixteen miles south of *Hestmandöe*, and 950 feet high, which is pierced by an immense chasm, extending E.N.E. and W.S.W., and whose length is about 860 feet, its height on the east side 120, in the middle 90, and on the west side 220 feet; its bottom lies about 380 feet above the sea, and is almost horizontal, as well as covered with fine sand, with some few scattered stones; but at the openings, great piles of rock are heaped up.

“The sail along the reefy coast of Nordland is rendered particularly lively, owing to the number of sloops which come from the south

(chiefly from Bergen), in order to fetch home the produce of the winter fishery in the numerous fishing-places of Lofoten. Most of the cod that is imported from Norway is caught, as is well known, at Lofoten. The cod, or the so-called *skreien*, arrive commonly in the beginning of February from the sea, in order to cast their spawn on the banks and shallows among the reefy coast of Lofoten, over which they crowd in such immense numbers, that a fish-shoal of this kind is not incorrectly named a 'fish mountain,' the depth of these shoals extending even to sixty or eighty fathoms beneath the surface. The best fishing-places are in the parish of Vaagen. Fishermen come to these fisheries from the whole of Nordland, together with a few from Finmark and the bailiwick of Drontheim, forming altogether a collection of about 15,000 men, with from 2000 to 3000 boats. When they set out, they usually unite into a body of fifty or sixty great ten-oared boats, but they are always divided into companies, containing two boats in each; and, from the southern parts of Nordland, every ten boats together have a sloop attached to them, which follows them to Lofoten, serves as a magazine during their stay there, and, after the conclusion of the fishery, carries back the fish-livers that have been obtained, in order to boil them down for their oil.¹ The fishermen of each district seek a particular fishing-ground (*fisk-voer*), not because they are bound to do so by law, but from the necessity of having a dwelling-house and scaffolds, or *gjoelder*, that is, stakes (literally, traps or gins), on which the fish can be suspended to dry. These are either the property of the fishermen themselves, or of the landlords of the neighbourhood, who derive a good profit in such a case; and, in both instances, the fishermen are tied to the same fishing-place, so that many of them have only been to one place during the whole of their lives.

"At the end of January, the fishermen begin to assemble at Lofoten, and the fishery continues during two months. After it is over, they return to their homes, whither they carry the livers to boil them down; but the fish themselves are hung up on scaffolds, two and two tied together by the tail, by means of small twigs (*spoerrerus*), and they ought properly to remain there suspended till the 12th of June, in order to become perfectly dry, on which their excellence depends as objects of traffic. They then constitute the so-called stock-fish; and in general it is found most profitable to sell the fish thus prepared; but many, under the pressure of momentary difficulty, sell the fish raw to vessels from Drontheim, Christiansand, Molde, and Bergen, which are generally in attendance in considerable numbers at the fishing-places, provided with victuals, brandy, &c., and which salt down and carry back the fish to prepare them as stock-fish. A greater or less quantity of roe is salted down, according to the demands of the market at the time, because this article only finds a sale in France, as a sauce to the pilchards, whose capture is very uncertain. In order to show the multitude of this fish, I shall introduce some tables in this place, extracted from the latest official report of the bailiff. This report, which comprises the six years from 1830

¹ A cure for dyspeptics would be found in a trip to Lofoten, and a diet of cod-liver oil. —*Trans.*

to 1836 included, gives the amount caught during the whole of that period, as well as their estimated value, as follows:—

Fish caught, subtracting a tenth, 1,687,121 vog ¹			
weight; which, estimating the mean price of			
a vog at 108 skillings, gives a result of.....	1,518,409	dollars specie. ²	
The livers produced 59,860 tons, that yielded			
19,953 tons of oil; which, estimating the ton			
at 14 dollars specie, gives.....	279,342	...	...
Finally, of roe there were 60,000 tons, at 2½ dol-			
lars specie per ton; say.....	150,000	...	...
Grand Total.....	1,947,751	...	...

“Such appears to be the produce of six years’ fishing. If this product is divided among 14,083 boats, that visited Lofoten during that period, and whose crews amounted at a mean estimate to five men per boat, deducting 100 dollars specie for the necessary expenses attending on each boat, the clear gain per man does not exceed about eight dollars specie. Bailiff Blom states in his travels the clear gain of the year 1827, which was a remarkably good year, at twenty dollars specie, and even this would not be too great a compensation for a long voyage in a stormy sea, and all the hardships, the labour, and the perils that attend the fishery at Lofoten.

“Nets are chiefly used in fishing, but hooks and lines are also in great repute. There has long been a dispute, without any definite result, concerning the comparative merits of the two methods. Each of them has advantages as well as drawbacks. This much, however, has been ascertained, that a much greater quantity of fish is caught with nets, on which account the poor fishermen, who have not means to procure these dearer implements, are always provoked at this insinuation.

“The mode of life of the fishermen during the fishing-season is exceedingly hard. When they come to the fishing-ground, their huts are often filled with snow; and when they have removed this, they not unfrequently find all the trifling moveables that had been left stolen. These dwellings, which are built by a company of boats, or from ten to twelve men, are miserable to the last degree; but they form, as Herr Blom justly remarks, the Elysium of the Nordlander, that has the greatest attraction for them from the cradle to the grave. For the voyage to Lofoten constitutes the brightest hope of Nordland’s lads, and the dearest memory of its old men.

“It is customary for every boat to choose a *captain*, who is by no means always the proprietor of the boat, but the most experienced fisherman and the ablest seaman. At the fishing-ground, they appoint, moreover, an overseer for every ten boats, and a superintendent to every fishing-ground, who see that everything is managed in an orderly way; for it may easily be imagined how necessary it is to maintain order amongst the many hundreds, or rather thousands of fishermen, who may happen to be assembled in one and the same place. The sea-district of every fishing-ground is divided, according

¹ *Vog*, the word here used is a weight of thirty-six pounds.—*Trans.*

² The dollar specie = 5 francs 75 cents.

to land-marks and the sea-compass, into certain limits, which are appointed by the superintendent to the overseers for each company of boats, for every such company (two boats, with about ten men) have one net. Between six and seven A.M., the boats are cleared to examine the nets, and shove off at a given sign of the overseer, all at once, as it were, with a single stroke of the oar, and observing the strictest silence. It must be a beautiful sight to view thus, on a (fine) morning, from 200 to 300 boats assembled in a single place. They have finished their work between ten and twelve o'clock, and return to the shore with their capture, which they take out of their net. One party returns after this to lay out the nets again, the rest remain on land, in order to clean the fish properly, and to hang them up to dry. Between two and four P.M., the nets are laid out, and now at last comes the dinner-time; for before this they only take a drop of spirits and a bit of bread in the morning, or perhaps again at the drawing of the nets. Thus there is no wonder that they devour their wretched meal with a good appetite, though only consisting of fish,—whose liver even they value very highly—and *flatbröd*, a kind of extraordinarily thin crackers, made of corn, which are used all over Norway (as well as by us in some of our poorer provinces). The process for curing the fish that are caught is prescribed by law,—as, for instance, how long they must be suffered to lie in the snow before they are hung up, with how much roe they must be salted down, and so forth. It is rarely that their day's labour is concluded before nine or ten in the evening, and seldom if ever do their clothes have time to dry before they return to their work on the following morning. If they are prevented from fishing by the weather, they are satisfied with mending their clothes and their nets, or perhaps they amuse themselves with visiting one another, which they call 'going into company.' At the end of March, or commonly about the fifth Sunday in Lent, they have a great holiday, that is kept in the whole of Lofoten, and is called 'the great brandy day.'

"We sailed past various fishing-grounds, amongst others, *Svolvoer*, which is one of the most important, and where, as in many other places, there is a trading settlement. It is one of the most frightful places that I ever saw, and the circumstance of any men making it their abode, who could by any possibility maintain themselves in any other place, proves that man happily prospers wherever he finds his livelihood and a home. On all sides the eye is met by nothing but high, upheaved, strangely-shaped, bald cliffs, and long reaches of flat rocks by the sea-shore, covered with the scaffolds of fish; while swarms of sea-gulls swarm overhead, and take their full share of the produce. And to complete the charm of the spot, the air is poisoned by the stench of the rotting fish-bones that are cast out on the strand. In summer, herrings are chiefly caught here, as on the coast of Finmark.

"In various places along the coast-reefs, you may see what are called *fuglevoer* (birds' grounds), by means of which they entice birds of various kinds to hatch in special scaffolds erected on purpose, and made of boards and twigs, in order to procure afterwards their eggs or down; these places are called, according to the object to which they are devoted, either *ægvoers* or *dunvoers*. The eggs of different kinds of

sea-gulls are gathered by the natives, and quite as many, besides down, from the eider-ducks. These birds come in the month of April to their known scaffolds, and prepare their dwelling with down, which they pluck from their breasts. A duck and a drake always go in company to the scaffold, and the drake also goes on business to the shore, while the duck prepares the menage, lays her eggs, and hatches the young ones, but immediately thereafter she betakes herself towards the sea. During the process of laying, no one dares to touch the eggs; but directly the egg is laid, the down may be removed two or three times without disturbing the duck. The eider-ducks are almost tame at their grounds, and with a little care you may entice a thousand, from which the proprietor may derive a good profit without much trouble."

Our space will not permit us to continue with our entertaining companion in his journey to Drontheim, Bergen, and over the Dovrefjelde into Sweden, but we shall revert for a time to the northern extremity of the Scandinavian peninsula, and introduce the reader for a moment to the Lapps, who belong to that remarkable Tchudic or Tartar race which appears to have occupied a large part of Europe in the most ancient times, and whose descendants at different periods have exhibited all the atrocities of barbarism and the glories of heroism, and have alternately groaned under oppressors or swayed the sceptre over vast territories and various nationalities. Nor is this race less remarkable in a psychological point of view, as they have developed, since the remotest periods, sundry of those abnormal and anomalous states of human nature, which a superficial philosophy has branded as fables and imposture, but which a sounder investigation has attempted to classify under the heads of clairvoyance, od force, and electro-biology. The fragment of Mr. Siljestrom's work which we here introduce, is especially interesting on account of its graphic description of the reindeer trains, which are the locomotives of the snowy railways that overspread those desolate regions.

"If a traveller proceed alone," observes Mr. Siljestrom, "he requires four reindeer, one for his rattle-traps, one for the *wappuse*, or Lapp guide, and one in reserve; but it is usual for several persons to unite in travelling over the mountains; and when the Laplanders descend in winter with their merchandise to the trading-places on the sea-coast, you often see a hundred *akjors* (Lappish sledges) together. A caravan of this description, whatever be its size, is styled *rejda*, in which a certain number of sledges unite to form a train, which is arranged in such a manner, that every succeeding reindeer is attached by a moderately long rope from his collar to the preceding *akjor*, which has the effect of steadying the movement of the train, and of obviating, in a great measure, all sinuosities, and in this way as many as twenty or more sledges can be driven by a *wappuse*, who sits in the first. If a man wishes to travel by himself, he can have what is called a *vare-ren*, i. e., a reindeer harnessed to the hinder part of the sledge, which likewise serves to steady the course, and to prevent any great deviations; a sledge of this description travels without a *rejda*.

"A large caravan of the latter description, in a snow-storm and in a forest, presents an unusually picturesque spectacle, and every sepa-

rate sledge has quite a handsome appearance, especially if the reindeer, as usually happens with persons of rank, are ornamented with a red embroidered collar and belt, as well as provided with a bell under the neck. The reindeer in a *rejda* scarcely ever follow any other pace than a steady and continuous short trot, which the guide manages cleverly to keep up by means of his own cheering and shouting, and by a perpetual waving of the arms, during which he either sits with his legs crossed under him, or stands upright in the sledge, with a remarkable skill in preserving his balance.

"It is astonishing to see what endurance and strength the reindeer possesses, although a novice in this mode of travelling would be apt to think from the outset that the animal was tired out, because from the moment of starting the reindeer breathes very hard so as to inflate his lungs sufficiently to enable him to suppress it afterwards, whilst he refreshes himself with a mouthful of snow.

"But when persons represent the speed of the reindeer as exceeding even that of the horse, such descriptions must not be received in their literal sense, because they result from an illusion, similar to that which leads us always to imagine that we are proceeding more rapidly in a boat than in a large vessel, though the actual speed in the latter case may quite equal, and perhaps exceed, that in the former.

"Nevertheless, the pleasure is not diminished on this account, and you really fancy that you are travelling faster than with the fastest horse.

"I left Alten on the 4th of April at nine o'clock in the morning, and I arrived at Karasjock the evening of the following day at eleven P.M. Our *rejda* consisted of seven reindeer. On the road we made several halts for my barometrical observations, for which purpose it was requisite to allow the barometer to remain suspended for a full hour, in order for it, as far as possible, to embrace the temperature of the air. On the first day, an unusually long halt was also made, during which the reindeer were suffered to graze, and the Lapps took their dinner, their only meal during the whole journey. Their cooking was *sans façon*, speedy and merry. Their fire-place consisted of a rock free from snow, on which they piled up some branches which they collected, together with some billets of wood. A pot, which is the *vade mecum* on a journey in Lapland, was filled with a moderate quantity of snow, and after it was melted, a respectable piece of reindeer flesh was put in it, taken from the provision sledge, which moreover contained cooking utensils, an axe, and some other articles. The meat, which was wrapped in reindeer-skin, was, it must be admitted, owing to this circumstance, somewhat hairy, and not of the most inviting appearance; but, with the exception of their look, the soup and the steaks were excellent, and the Laplanders ate with a wonderful appetite, so that it was evident that they were laying in a supply for two days." * * *

We must now bid adieu to the Lapps, to Mr. Siljestrom, and to the north and west, and winging our flight across the vast plains that constitute the heart of Russia, we shall deposit the reader on the burning soil of Persia, where we shall find Muscovite corruption at work again, masking robbery under the smiles of friendship, and concealing the knout under the mask of religion.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF IRAN, OR PERSIA.

HISTORICALLY speaking, Persia is one of the most interesting countries in the world. Its name is associated with the most important phases of biblical and classical history, and we learn to lisp the names of Xerxes and Darius over our playthings in the nursery. What classical scholar has not pored with delight over the pages of the Cyropedia and the Anabasis, or followed with breathless interest the meteor track of Alexander to India! The spiritual development of Persia has also been highly interesting; nor must we omit to bestow a passing eulogium on the sublime doctrine of Zoroaster. But Persia is especially interesting at the present moment, by showing that a small Greek force in ancient times, without the appliances of modern science, succeeded in reducing Central Asia and a part of India. Hence the invasion of India by Russia in the nineteenth century is within the range of possibility.

Iran, or Persia, is conterminous to the northward with Russia, the Caspian Sea, and the Khanats of Khiva and Bokhara. To the eastward it borders on the Khanat of Balkh, on Afghanistan, and Beloochistan; to the south on the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf; to the west on Asiatic Turkey; and it contains 363,840 square miles. Almost the whole of the superficies of Persia forms part of the great *table-land* of Iran (*i.e.*, the flat and open country, or Land of Light, in opposition to Turan, the Land of Darkness). The soil is generally of a clayey nature, rich in salt, and deficient in water. A cloudless sky smiles upon this lofty table-land, which is exposed to hot summers and severe winters, the former season being accompanied with long and painful droughts, when not a drop of dew falls to refresh the parched earth. Persia has no navigable river, and the streams that flow through the steppes are commonly dried up in summer. The Kehra, or Gerdsh, issues from the south-western slope of the table-land, and the Karun rises to the westward of Ispahan, and pours through five mouths into the Persian Gulf. The frontier rivers, Arasch and Tedsen, or Oxus, flow into the Caspian Sea.

The produce of Persia consists of excellent horses, horned cattle, buffaloes, wild and tame asses, camels, sheep, lions, tigers, &c. It also yields an abundance of wine, melons, southern fruits, dates, in the vegetable kingdom; and, amongst minerals, iron, copper, lead, a little gold and silver, precious stones, &c. The amount of its inhabitants is estimated by some at 12,000,000, and by others at 20,000,000. It consists partly of the mixed race of the *Thats*, who have accepted Islam, are looked down upon with contempt by the free nomadic tribes, and who devote themselves to agriculture and to trades. 2dly, of the *Parsees* or *Guebres* (20,000), of the Armenians (600,000), besides nine tribes speaking the Aral languages, and numbering 90,000 individuals. There are, moreover, Bokharians, Bujanians, Indians,

Jews, and Gipsies. The *Persian tongue* is the great medium of epistolary communication, and the court language of the East. The Mohammedan is the national religion, but it is that form of it which is called the Shiite heresy, and its advocates entertain a bitter hatred of the Sunnites, who reciprocate this charitable feeling, thus constituting a schism in the heart of Islam analogous to the Catholic and Protestant feuds in Christendom, so honourable to the liberality of their respective advocates. The doctrine of the Shiites consists in a denial of the legitimacy of the Caliphs immediately following Mohammed down to Ali, who is received as the first, and whose murdered sons, Hassan and Hussein, are venerated as saints. They also deny tradition, and stick to the Koran alone, like staunch Protestants.

The most important emporia of trade in Persia are *Tauris*, *Räsch*, *Abuskar*, *Schiras*, *Gomron*, *Kermanschah*, *Kaschau*, and *Ispahan*. The monarch called *Padischah*, is absolute; but no dignity in the state is hereditary. The empire is divided into Beglerbegships, and the latter are subdivided into Balaks, whose administrators are styled Khans, Zabits, or Hakims. The army is said to amount to 260,000 men. The most usual arms are bows and arrows, shields, swords, and daggers; only a part of the infantry is provided with muskets.

Iran, or Persia, contains the following provinces:—

1. Aberbeidschan (Fire Land), a part of ancient Media, embracing 22,880 square miles, and 2,000,000 inhabitants, the capital being Tauris.

2. Ghilan, on the Caspian Sea, containing 3840 square miles, and 280,000 inhabitants. Its capital is called Rescht, or Husum.

3. Masenderan (Hyrkania) contains 6176 square miles, and is styled the "*Garden of Persia*," on account of its fertility, the capital being Asterabad.

4. Tabaristan (the Highlands) embraces 5232 square miles, and contains two towns of some consequence, Domavend and Damaghan.

5. Irak-Adschemi contains 70,624 square miles, including the metropolis of the empire, Teheran. This city is situated near the Caspian Sea, is peopled by 70,000 inhabitants, and contains an imperial palace, four bazaars, numerous mosques, and silk, cotton, and hardware manufactories.

6. Kusistan embraces 21,600 square miles, the capital being Schusta. The province contains 900,000 souls.

7. Kjurdistan, on the borders of Turkey, has a surface of 10,400 square miles, 450,000 inhabitants, and a fortified capital, Kermanschah. This province is peopled by the wild and warlike Kurdish race, who have always been turbulent neighbours and unruly subjects. It also borders on the Caucasus and Armenia; and large portions of this district of Persia have been surrendered by Persia to Russia, through the amicable mediation of British diplomacy. Some of the most elevated summits of the Caucasus are found in this neighbourhood, including the venerable Ararat, which has been resigned, with its liberties, by Persia into the hands of Russia. Since the last war, 1827, Persia, like Prussia, has become a degraded and dependent country.

8. Farsistan, or Fars (Persia Proper), contains 89,696 square miles, and its capital is Schiras, with a citadel called Ark. This town has

six gates and 18,000 inhabitants, fourteen bazaars, thirteen caravansaries, &c. The other towns of this province are Jest, Bender or Abuschär, Baise, Bender a Congo on the Persian Gulf, with a port, Dschesirei, Diras or Kischm, with 10,000 inhabitants, and, since 1819, in the possession of the British.

9. Kerman (Caramania) has 49,280 square miles, with a fortified capital called Kerman, containing 20,000 inhabitants, who are a savage and unruly people. The coast region is called Moghistan, containing the seaport town Bender Hassi (Gamron).

10. Chorasán (Korasan), formerly Bactria, the north-eastern province of Persia, containing 61,232 square miles, yielding an abundance of turquoises, and gold and silver mines. The capital is called Nischapur.

Kuhistan.—This province is the apex of the high table-land of Iran; it embraces a surface of 17,792 square miles, and contains the following towns:—Birdschun, Scheristan, Tubus, and Cain.

Without attempting a general history of Persia in these pages, we shall present a brief notice of two of the most remarkable modern Shahs, one of whom conquered a large part of India, thus showing that Russia, as soon as we abandon the Caucasus and Persia to her, will be at the door of our Eastern possessions; for the gold of Muscovy will be able to unlock the passes of Afghanistan more easily than the violence of Kouli Khan.

Abbas the Great ascended the Persian throne in 1600, and reigned for forty years. He raised his dynasty and country to a pitch of grandeur which they had never seen before, nor attained to afterwards. He recovered many districts from the Tartars and Turks, including Bagdad. He drove the Portuguese from the Persian Gulf, and became absolute master of Persia. He endeavoured to introduce strict justice amongst his people, and showed gratitude to all who performed distinguished services. The following circumstance will illustrate the latter amiable feature of his character:—One of his generals had vanquished a large Turkish army, and recovered possession of Bagdad. Delighted at the victory, Shah Abbas rode out to meet the general on his arrival at court, dismounting as the victor approached, and said to him: “My dear Aga, I am indebted to thee for as great a triumph as God could grant me: come, mount my horse; I must accompany thee as thy servant on foot.” The general resisted, cast himself at the feet of the Shah, and begged him not to make his slave ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders by such an unprecedented testimony of favour. But all his representations were fruitless; the general was obliged to mount the royal horse, and Abbas followed him a short distance on foot.

But Abbas diminished the glories and honours of his reign by his sanguinary penalties. He seemed to think with Draco, that blood alone could atone for guilt, yet he never sanctioned the knout, especially in the case of females. He could not distinguish severity from cruelty. He forbade his soldiers to use tobacco, to which they were immoderately addicted, and condemned all delinquents to lose their nose and lips. It happened that a certain merchant was ignorant of these orders, and brought tobacco into the camp. Shah Abbas caused him to be placed on a pile of wood, with his goods, and to be burned alive. He was anxious to prevent the oppression of the poor.

Accordingly, after leaving a town, he was in the habit of returning to it in disguise, to frequent the markets, examine the quality of the bread and other provisions, and to punish cheats and extortioners with extreme severity. He once caused a rich baker to be baked alive in his oven, because he had refused to let the poor have any bread, under the pretext that he had only enough for the court and army. When one of his nobles, on a certain occasion, was guilty of some intrigue in the harem, he caused him and all his innocent wives and children to be murdered. Finally, like Peter the Great, he put to death his only and favourite son. Yet it was done in a fit of passion, and not, as in the case of the Czar, with deliberate forethought. After the commission of this crime, he was also filled with remorse, shut himself up for ten days, scarcely tasted food for a month, mourned a whole year, and wore the commonest attire during the remainder of his life. But his remorse soon passed into new cruelties, which he practised on all concerned with the death of his son.

His successors were noted for similar cruelty, without having his virtues, and lost the throne, which was seized for a season by Afghan usurpers, till Nadir Shah, also styled Kouli Khan, succeeded in driving off the invaders, and in securing the throne. He was a man of immense energy, great talent, and unbounded cruelty. He ascended the throne in 1729, conquered Delhi in 1739, and was put to death in 1747.

Before we drop the subject of Persia, we shall dwell for a moment on the danger to which our Indian possessions are exposed by the protection and annexation of that ancient monarchy. Instead of introducing our own imperfect remarks on this topic, we shall present the reader with a few statements from the pen of Sir John M'Neil:—

Fifty thousand Persian infantry, composed of what are perhaps the finest materials in the world for service in those countries, and disciplined by Russian officers, with about fifty guns of Persian artillery in a high state of efficiency, and an almost unlimited number of irregular horse, could be put in motion by Russia in any direction, within twelve months after the resources of the kingdom were at its disposal. (P. 126.)

Independently of the danger of actual invasion, the advance of Russia to Herat, *i. e.*, the absolute command of the resources of Persia, would disturb the whole system of the government of India. (P. 127.)

At the Treaty of Turcomanschai, Russia disclaimed all idea of conquest, yet maintained the necessity of a definite frontier, and of a heavy indemnity, putting Persia in chains. Persia, besides paying the whole expenses of the war, had to give up the important provinces of Erivan and Abbasabad. . . . The loss to Persia was immense. Though driven from Talish and Moghan in the war, Russia would not relinquish them, and Persia was forced to submit.

The object of Russia was to obtain a fordable part of the course of the Araxes, giving her easy entrance into Persia, and a rich and fertile province. She aims also at Gheelan, and threatened in 1834 to occupy it as a security for the payment of 500,000 tomans of indemnity. She insisted also on having a *tête du pont* opposite

Abbasabad, in Nukhchdan, on the left bank of the Araxes, and obtained it. This gave her entrance into Persia on another flank of her frontier, and gave Russia the command of the only available line of communication between Turkey and Persia.

Persia was also bound by this treaty to maintain no navy on the Caspian. It was during this Persian war that Yermoloff, whom the Germans call a hero, retaliated on the Circassians by an indiscriminate slaughter of suspected inhabitants. Religious enthusiasts were cut open, and hung up by the feet and left to die. (P. 75.)

The integrity and independence of Persia is necessary to the security of India and of Europe. The acquisition by Russia of a control over the power and resources of Turkey and Persia (and the one implies the other) would be dangerous to the existence of Austria, to the commerce and Indian possessions of England, and would endanger the tranquillity of the southern states of Europe, especially France.

We have long ceased attempting to move the enlightened inhabitants of this Empire by the arguments of duty and principle, being convinced that interest and expediency are the only motives that gain a hearing in this sordid age. It is therefore on the ground of interest that we would direct the eyes of Englishmen a little more closely to the table-lands of Turkistan, which are thoroughly explored by Russian agents, and which bring them to the door of India. This is the high-road of Russia to India, and if the reader wants a proof of this, we refer him to the expedition of Peter the Great against Khiva. Now, it is generally known, from the magnanimous will of Peter the Great, that India was the chief aim of all his Eastern aggressions. After the failure of that expedition, Peter directed all his energies against Persia, the Caucasus, and the Caspian. We cannot do better than take the hint from so shrewd a guide, and, discerning our chief danger in these points, seek to guard them against our insidious and persevering foe.

Turkistan is the proper land and original home of the Turks, unless we admit their Median derivation with Layard and Urquhart. This region is also styled *Tartary*, or *Free Tartary*, in order to distinguish it from the Tartary which is dependent on China; occasionally, the name of Great Bokharia is applied to it, and in the Middle Ages it was named Dschagatai. To the northward it borders on Asiatic Russia and on the Khirgis Steppes; to the east and south-east, on the Chinese territory; to the south, on Afghanistan; to the south-west, on Persia; and to the west, on the Caspian Sea. Its superficies is estimated at 521,888 square miles.

The territorial configuration of this country is imperfectly known, but it may be affirmed generally that the lofty table-lands of Central Asia begin in Turkistan to break into a broad zone of mountains, and sink into deep basins around the Sea of Aral and the Caspian. This alpine region of Turkistan contains the source of the Sir-Daria, the ancient Japorta. The rivers Amu-Darja or Gihon, the Kisil-Darja, and the Sir-Darja or Sihon, flow into the Caspian Sea. This region contains a great number of salt-lakes, forming a connected chain in some parts of the country. The number of inhabitants amounts to 4,000,000. They consist partly of Usbeks, of Turkish descent,

partly of Bokharians and Tadschiks, and partly of Kaffers (a race of aborigines, who are infidels, *i. e.*, reject the Koran), and Kirghis Tartars. There is also a scattered population of Persians, Armenians, Hindoos, and Gipsies. A great majority of the natives still lead a nomadic life; the prevailing religion is the Mohammedan, of the Sunnite sect, and the population is generally very intolerant, but they do not appear as yet to have managed, like German and Hindoo philosophers, to doubt the external world and their own existence. If they had reached this point, we should fear their case would be hopeless, like that of Germany, in attempting to oppose the positive force of Russian aggression.

The exports from Turkistan consist of horses, sheep, asses' hides, felts, cotton and silk goods, wood and iron wares, fruits, precious stones, &c. The form of government is various. Kirghis princes hold the principal sway in a great part of the country, a portion of which is subject to the Khan of Khiva. Various nomadic tribes are governed by *starchini*, or elders, others are dependent on China. The following are the chief political divisions of this country:—

I. Khowaresm, or Kharesm, to the west. This territory includes—

(1.) Eastern Truchmenen, or land of the Turcomans, a district without any cities or villages, occupied by nomadic Turcomans, a warlike people, numbering more than 50,000 men. It is here that occurs the ruined port of Magaischlack, on a bay of the Caspian Sea, called Rutsch, and in front of which are the Kuritic islands, frequented by the Russians for the purpose of seal-fishing. The Mangischlakich Turcomans reckon 15,000 kettles, *i. e.*, 60,000 souls; the Astrabatch amount to 40,000 kettles, or 160,000 souls, whose chief occupation is the tending of cattle.

(2.) Khiva, on the river Amu-Darja, embracing 4800 square miles, with 300,000 inhabitants. This is the chief object of Russian aspirations in this direction, as it would form an excellent half-way-house and stepping-stone to India. To the northward, this territory is shut in by the mountain-chain called Waisluka; but the general character of the country is a dead level, surrounded by arid steppes, in which Cossacks would feel quite at home. Its chief produce consists of wheat, beans, peas, hemp, cotton, barley, oats, the oil-plant kuschut, fruit, especially melons, &c.; game, jackals, wolves, foxes, &c. In the mineral kingdom occur gold, silver, and precious stones. The inhabitants are, 1st, Turcomans, amounting to 2000, a wild nomadic population; 2d, Sarkars or Bokharians, more than 100,000 souls, who carry on trade; 3d, Kara-Kalpaks, amounting to 100,000, Usbeks and slaves. The military force consists principally of cavalry, armed with bows, spears, and swords. This state consists of two parts.

1. The territory proper of Khiva, containing the capital of that name, the seat of the government, with thirty mosques, a high-school, 300 mud-houses, and 10,000 inhabitants. The remaining towns are, Urghendsch, Schalat, Ket, Aubari, a small fortress, and Gurtjan, another fortress.

2. The territory of Komat, or the land of the Komad or Aral Tartars, situated on the Aral Sea and on the river Kisit-Darja, and inhabited by Mohammedan Usbeks, Kara-Kalpaks, and Truchmens, contains a population of 100,000, paying a yearly tribute to Khiva.

The chief town of this district is Konrat, on the Amu, surrounded by a rampart. The other towns are, Kisil-Khoka, Mauhut, and Koptschak, a fortress.

(3.) The province of Aral is situated on the sea of the same name. Its soil is sandy and unfruitful; and a *part of the Aralians are under Russian rule*, and live in fortified villages.

II. Turkistan, the original home of the Turks and Uigures, comprehends—

(1.) Turkistan Proper, which contains 300,000 inhabitants. The capital is Tarns, a holy city of the Mohammedans. Taschkent is an important commercial mart, with 150 mosques and 50,000 inhabitants; it contains a bazaar, and a citadel with a garrison of 10,000 men.

(2.) The Khanat of Khokan (the ancient Fergana). This territory was formerly under the rule of the Bokharians.

III. The Kirghis territory. The Kirghis Tartars are divided into three ordas, of which two are *under Russian protection*. The great orda numbers 360,000 souls, amongst whom there are 30,000 warriors. The territory of the Kara-Kalpaks, containing 20,000 warriors, is a conquered country.

IV. Usbekistan, the territory proper of the Usbek Tartars, embraces the southern part of Turkistan, and is divided into Great and Little Bokharia. The latter has passed, since 1759, under the Chinese Government; the former, or Great Bokharia, which is independent, and watered by the Amu and Soght, contains 428,960 square miles, and about 3,000,000 inhabitants, partly Bokharians, living chiefly in towns, and engaged in extensive commercial and manufacturing undertakings; partly Tartars, Turcomans, Indians, Persians, &c. All these populations are under the authority of one Shah, whose power is limited by the Koran and by fundamental laws. The several districts have their special Khans, who are subject to the Shah, and the nomads are governed by their Murses; the forty-four districts, into which the territory is divided, are farmed out to Hakims or Stadtholders. The prevailing religion is the Mohammedan, of the Sunnite sect. This territory comprises several provinces, *e. g.*,

(1.) Bokhara, with a capital of the same name, a palace of the Khan, and 70,000 inhabitants, 360 mosques, 60 colleges, 10 caravansaries for merchants, and spacious bazaars. Bokhara is a very important emporium for the trade of Central Asia, and its caravans proceed to all parts of the East. Seven great commercial roads irradiate from this centre—1. to China, through Samarkand; 2. to Hindostan, through Kabul; 3. to Iran; 4. to the coasts of the Caspian Sea; 5. to Orenburg; 6. through Otran to Omsk; 7. through the Kirghis Steppes to Semipolatsk.

Samarkand, in a charming situation, formerly a town of large size and great importance, having been the capital and the burial-place of Tamerlane. It contains 50,000 inhabitants, 250 mosques, manufactories, paper-mills, &c. The town of Karakal, on the Amu, contains 30,000 inhabitants, and is the great emporium for the trade between Bokhara and Khiva.

(2.) Badakschan is the southern part of the Usbek territory. The Khan maintains 5000 warriors, and the capital is Fyzabad.

(3.) Hissar is a mountainous country, surrounded by the Amu; its capital is also styled Hissar, and contains 3000 houses.

(4.) Osruchnah is a region almost unknown, and unexplored by Western Europeans, and contains a capital of the same name.

(5.) The large independent Khanat of Scher-Selz, to the south of Samarkand, whose Khan can raise a force of 20,000 cavalry, contains a capital of the same name, situated on the Koschka. Kesch is the birth-place of Timur.

It is proper to observe that these vast regions, and others still more extensive, forming the heart of Central Asia, and extending to the frontiers of Siberia and China, have been examined and explored by the agents of Russia, who have gained over and organized many tribes. Since the earliest ages of history, these steppes have launched forth the most destructive conquerors on record, who have swept into the centre of Europe and India, have overcome China, and ruined the most fertile regions and flourishing cities in the world. It is obvious that such instruments would be very efficient assistants to Muscovy; and on perusing the following brief sketch of the biography of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, the reader will obtain a tolerable insight into what Europe and Asia have shortly to expect from the aggressions of Muscovy, the mass of whose population are still essentially Asiatic, and analogous in many respects to the Tartar population of Asia.

The salt-steppes of Central Asia seem destined to produce a race that may be called the beasts of prey of humanity, in all ages fattening on the blood and industry of the peaceful and tamer populations inhabiting more favoured regions. Unhappy the land smitten and sucked by these vampires! Yet a large, and even unknown force, under the sceptre of Muscovy, consists of these Kalmuck and Tartar tribes, who have been partially organized, and are ready to fall on their neighbours at the beck of the Czar. To judge of what we may expect from their incursions, we shall see what they have done. Omitting the Huns, and other swarms, who smote the Roman Empire, we would first remind the reader that they overthrew the Caliphate and the Empire of the Arabs, founded on the glowing faith of Islam, and by the gallant Saracens. They humiliated Turkey, and captured their Sultan, Bajazet; they conquered and held Russia for two centuries, and India for a much longer period. The present Chinese dynasty consists of Tartars, and many Persian Shahs have belonged to that race. It is, therefore, a natural inquiry to ask who these Moguls were—a race so formidable to both hemispheres, and who appear to have been the greatest conquerors of ancient or modern times.

Mongolia Proper is a vast region, of what is called Great or Asiatic Tartary, bordering on China, Corea, and Siberia, and, in a great measure, unexplored, save by *Russians*. For ages the Mongols wandered about its lofty wastes in scattered families, leading a nomadic life with their herds and horses. Living on horse-flesh and mare's-milk, and being on horseback from the cradle, they are, and have always been, the most dangerous and independent hosts recorded in history. Want of provisions never deters them, as their steed is their food, and they have plenty of spare horses with them to supply the loss

of those devoured, till they reach a land of plenty, and fatten on its spoils.

It was about A.D. 1200 that the son of one of the numerous Mogul Khans, a man named Temudschin, distinguished himself at an early age for his bravery. He gradually, by arts and by arms, succeeded, like Muscovy, in mastering the neighbouring tribes, till he became lord of the whole of Mongolia. Hence the title of Dschingis Khan¹ was conferred upon him with due solemnity. After this event, he used every pretext and opportunity to make war on, and subjugate all neighbouring countries. He conquered and laid waste a large part of China. The Chowaresmisch kingdom, which consisted of territory stript from the Arabian Empire, in Persia and India, was at that time the mightiest and most flourishing in all Asia. Samarkand was one of its chief cities, and was especially renowned for arts and sciences, and as a seat of learning. Genghis Khan obtained possession of it after a desperate resistance, and mastered the whole kingdom after many hundred thousand men had fallen on both sides. The unhappy king died, abandoned by every one, almost without food or clothing, on an island of the Caspian Sea. After this conquest, the victor advanced along the Caspian into the heart of Persia, and subjugated every territory that he approached. His conquests extended even into Europe, and he defeated the troops of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, who tried to oppose him on the Dnieper. At length he determined to attempt the conquest of China; but as he was about to start on that expedition, he was stopped by death, and removed from a world that he had devastated for above twenty years.

It must be admitted, however, that notwithstanding his military and sanguinary propensities, which made him a terror and scourge of humanity, he founded some useful and valuable institutions, which show that he was a man of strong judgment. He introduced order and discipline, the art of writing, commerce and arts, among the Moguls, who had hitherto been nothing more than roving tribes of nomads. His people became acquainted with riches and splendour, without their warlike character being softened by their blandishments. He granted an unprecedented security to travellers in his empire. He adopted improvements in tactics from the vanquished nations, and made his own army invincible by well-digested regulations respecting the use of their arms, and by engaging them never to fly from the enemy. Nor do we find that his troops, which amounted to many hundreds of thousands, were afflicted with stocks, pipe-clay, or shaving. Genghis Khan also issued many wise laws for the maintenance of common faithfulness and honour, and also to protect the individual property of his subjects. Though he made war the chief occupation of the Moguls, he wished those who were not engaged in the army to be usefully employed. He confirmed an old custom of the Moguls, that when all the members of two families had died, a marriage should be supposed to be contracted between two of their deceased children, which should bind the two families together.

He believed in one God, and gave out that he was a special envoy of the Most High, but he never persecuted others for conscience'

¹ Great Prince.

sake. When he heard of the Mohammedan pilgrimage to Mecca, he laughed contemptuously, remarking, "as if the whole world were not a temple of its Creator." Like Russian diplomatists, he had such a clever insight into men's characters, that he appointed all his officers to suitable posts, and divided the dignities of his empire among his sons according to their ability. In other respects, however, Genghis, whose splendid victories might be apt to dazzle superficial thinkers, was nothing but a relentless destroyer of countries and populations. It is true that he greatly enriched the Moguls, but this was effected at the expense of millions of men whom he robbed and murdered in his campaigns. Even on his death-bed, he gave directions for new attacks on other countries. His useful and beneficial regulations cannot compensate for the disasters and misery he inflicted on vast populations, merely to enjoy the satisfaction of mastering and oppressing them.

The Mogul rulers, like the Romanoffs, had a system and a heritage, *i. e.*, protection and annexation, or, in other words, devastation and oppression. The sons of Genghis, especially Oktai, followed worthily in the footsteps of their sire. Oktai and his three grandsons shook the whole of Asia and Europe with their wars, during thirty years after the death of Genghis, inflicting greater injury even than that destructive monarch. They conquered additional territory in China, overran the whole region north of the Caspian as far as Russia, where they smote and burned Moscow, and made the whole Grand Duchy of Moscow tributary to them. They then proceeded to lay waste Poland, as far as Cracow and Silesia, where they beat an army of Christians at Liegnitz, and they penetrated through Moravia into Hungary and European Turkey, plundering, burning, and murdering wherever they went. The progress of the Moguls was assisted by the suddenness of their incursions, their immense multitude, by the terror and fame of their victories and cruelties which preceded them, —finally, by the negotiations and quarrels in which the Western nations were implicated then, as they are now. Consequently, they dragged away hundreds of thousands of Christians into slavery. On the other hand, they attacked with equal fury the western part of Asia in Syria and Anatolia. They reduced the Turks in the latter country, and threatened the Greek Empire. Finally, they annihilated the Caliphate and Bagdad, where, after a fearful massacre, they erected a colossal pyramid of skulls. But after a few generations, the vast empire of the Moguls fell to pieces, and became ultimately so weak, that the oppressed nations were able to shake off its yoke; and such will perhaps be the future destiny of Russia, though she will probably occasion endless misery before the catastrophe.

The decline and fall of the Mogul and Tartar race was arrested for a season, about 1370, by another great despot and conqueror, whom some writers represent as a descendant of Genghis. This was Timur, or Timur-Bek, *i. e.*, Prince Timur, known amongst Europeans by the name of Tamerlane, probably a corruption of Timurlenk, an epithet bestowed upon him because he was lame in the right leg. He was originally a prince of Great Bokharia; but, profiting by the dissensions and troubles which divided and agitated his country, he succeeded in mastering it, and also in annexing Little Bokharia. Having

thus become a great prince, he fell into the neighbouring countries, and conquered and devastated, like Genghis Khan, a large part of the world for thirty years. Not only did he subdue all the country to the north of the Caspian Sea, and a part of Persia and India, but almost the whole region between the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Mediterranean and Black Seas. He advanced into Europe without encountering any opposition, as far as Moscow and Azof. He vanquished and captured the Turkish Sultan, Bajazet. The successor of this Sultan, together with the Emperor of Byzantium, and the Mameluke Sultan, were obliged to pay him a yearly tribute as dependants. When he was ultimately about to attack China, he was stricken by death,¹ like Genghis Khan.

That he was a man of undoubted genius is evident, and not like Nicholas, whom some of his nobles do not scruple to call an imbecile. He was one of the ablest commanders on record, and a man of wonderful endurance and activity, notwithstanding his lameness. He was remarkable for the secrecy of his decisions, and the rapidity of their execution. He sometimes acted with magnanimity, and was a great patron of arts and sciences. Samarkand, his capital, became an emporium of learning, as well as trade.

Yet impartial history declares him to have been a sanguinary barbarian, seldom accessible to the dictates of humanity. It is probable that no conqueror and ruler on record has ever equalled Tamerlane in cool and deliberate cruelty, practised on subject nations. He was wont to make numerous pyramids of the heads of butchered citizens. Shortly after his death, his vast empire, like that of Genghis, fell to pieces; but one of his descendants, the Emperor Baber, founded a monarchy in India and Afghanistan, which were happy under his peaceful and enlightened reign. The last effeminate descendants of the Mogul emperors have become mere puppets in the hands of the British at Delhi.

One of the most important Asiatic countries, situated between Russia and India, is Afghanistan, the theatre of the greatest British infatuation and disasters recorded in the present century.

The population of this remarkable region, to which a Hebrew origin has been ascribed by some writers, is of a more hardy, manly, and warlike character, than that commonly met with among the Hindoos and Persians. The Afghans are stout, broad-shouldered, handsome men, and their capacity of devouring is said to emulate that of the happy population of Britain. The climate is cool and healthy, owing to the elevation of the country, though the latitude is that of Syria, and a thick mantle of snow covers its lofty plains for several months in the year. Hence the complexion of the Afghans is much fairer than that of the Hindoos, who are scorched by the tropical heat of the great basins of the Indus and the Ganges.

The Sufud Koh (snow-clad chain) lies to the south of the river of Kabul, and attains an elevation of 14,000 feet. The Himalaya and Hindoo-Koosh, which form its continuation, separate Afghanistan from Thibet and Bokhara to the north, and attain an elevation of 20,248 feet.

The Kabul river is navigable to Jellalabad for rafts, and as high as Akora for river boats.

The Khyber Pass lies between Peshawur, in the Punjaub, and Dhaka upon the Kabul river, and is about twenty miles long. This spot is gloriously associated with the triumphs of British strategy and diplomacy.

The population of Afghanistan was estimated by Elphinstone at 14,000,000. *Pushtoo* is the name they give themselves, as well as their language; and their traditions represent that they inhabited the mountains of Ghore at a very remote period.

The *Pushtoo*, which is the proper language of the Afghans, contains a great number of Zend, Pehlvee, and modern Persian words, but also many words that cannot be referred to any other tongue. The most celebrated poets that have appeared in Afghanistan are RHEMAUN and KHOOSHAIL, and the study of dialectics and metaphysics is said to be pursued with some success by this people, though it does not appear hitherto to have emasculated them, like the patient and long-suffering race that vegetates in Germany, protected by Muscovy.

In connection with the present crisis in the world's history, it is important to bear in mind that the Afghans are Mohammedans and Sunnites, like the Turks, with whom they would therefore fully sympathize in their resistance to Russia. The Ottoman Sultan is in fact the spiritual head of the Afghans.

The title bestowed on the principal Mollah, or lawyer and priest of Kabul, is that of Mulvi. The Syuds are supposed to be descendants from the Prophet, and the Cazees are magistrates and judges. There are also Sufis in Cabul, a sect of Pantheists and Mystics, who are, however, generally speaking, sincere Mohammedans, entertaining sentiments and opinions somewhat analogous to those of the gallant Schamyl and his enthusiastic admirers in the Caucasus. This sect, which has been exposed to persecution in Persia, is popular among the higher orders and Mollahs, who are partial to study and reflection. We regret to have to add, that there is another sect of Atheists and libertines, the followers of Mollah Zukkee, whose tenets are similar to those of the Persian poet Keioom, in whose works a greater amount of impiety is to be found than in any other language. It must be gratifying to Europeans to reflect that this eminent Persian Atheist belongs to the same Indo-Germanic race as themselves, whilst the honest and simple-hearted Ottomans have been hitherto puerile enough to believe in the faith of their fathers.

Another Afghan sect is called Roushneea, and was founded under the Emperor Akbar by Bayazeed Ansauree, who was called the Peeree Taunck (Apostle of Darkness) in derision, whereas he styled himself Peeree Roushen (the Apostle of Light). His tenets were the same as those of the Sufis, to which he added, however, the belief in the transmigration of souls, a doctrine which he borrowed from the Yogis, a sect of Hindoo philosophers. He also introduced doctrines of his own, *e. g.*, that the most remarkable manifestations of the Deity were in holy men and in himself. There is cause to believe that the founder of this sect was really a great man. The sect is, however, almost extinct now. His great opponent was Aukhoond Derwezeh, who is reported to have been a great saint.

The name of the province of Nanjnehār, bordering on India, means nine rivers, and from this province you may pass over the Karkatcha chain to the north, to Kabul, which is about 8000 feet above the sea. Another pass connecting these districts is that of Lattabund, which was explored by Major Burnes, another victim of our enlightened diplomacy. Koh Daman is a fine province to the north of Kabul, situated between the chain of Hindoo-Koosh to the north, and the Payman to the west. It is surrounded by lower hills on the other sides, and it forms a valley thirty-one miles long and about seven broad. This is a favourite residence of the Kabul merchants; and the gardens of Istalaf in this valley are renowned far and wide, having been mentioned by the celebrated Mogul Emperor Baber in his *Commentaries*. The Panshir Valley is seventy miles long, and contains 7000 families: it leads to one of the passes from Kabul to Turkistan over Hindoo-Koosh.

Some writers represent the city of Kabul as only 6000 feet above the sea, and it contains 60,000 inhabitants. The neighbouring valley is remarkably well cultivated, and presents a succession of blooming gardens and orchards. Peshawur is probably the largest city in the country, and is supposed to contain 100,000 inhabitants.

The Government of Afghanistan consists of a king and a turbulent nobility. The present king is Dost Mohammed Khan, aged about sixty, who was attacked and humiliated by British sagacity when he showed every disposition to befriend us, and to resist the advances of Russia. The Afghans consist of tribes called Ooloosses, governed by Khans, *i. e.*, tribes and chiefs. The tribes are subdivided into clans, &c. The councils and juries of the clans are called Jeergas, and are composed of the Khan as president, with elders called Mullicks, and some Mollahs as members.

Our space will prevent us from dwelling on the disasters that befell our army in Afghanistan; but able pens have portrayed its sorrows and losses, and shown that they proceeded from the same mysterious causes that gave birth to the sufferings of our service in 1854, which we shall now attempt to record.

PART IV.

HISTORY OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF THE PRESENT WAR.

CHAPTER I.

DIPLOMACY.

IT has been frequently and justly observed, that it is a difficult, if not an impossible undertaking, to give a correct account of contemporaneous history. The violence of party feeling, and a combination of interested motives, are calculated to give an unfavourable bias to the writer who attempts to chronicle passing events. Yet it is only from contemporary annals that we obtain our knowledge of the past; and as it is the duty of each generation to hand down the record of its noble or evil deeds to posterity, it should be the aim of the contemporary historian to divest himself, as far as possible, of all narrow or local influences, though no historian who values man and virtue can be without serious convictions.

The phase of European history that we now attempt to portray, is less marked by glorious achievements and heroic sacrifices than by a sordid spirit and a disgraceful selfishness. Though it has produced its heroes, they have been mostly unhonoured, and frequently unknown; and though it has yielded a fair crop of victims and of martyrs in the cause of justice and of truth, their memory has been evanescent, and obliterated by the success of guilt and the triumph of perjury.

In the field, as well as in the cabinet, honesty has too frequently succumbed to intrigue, and chivalry to treachery. Yet, as the defects and imperfections of humanity are as instructive to posterity as its sublimest ornaments, we shall endeavour to face impartially our painful and humiliating task, in the hope of preventing a recurrence of such disasters amongst our happier descendants.

It has been too customary with mankind to magnify their ancestors and depreciate the living generation, but it must be confessed that this practice, which is generally blameable, is strongly countenanced in the present case. If we only revert to the statesmen, orators, and warriors of the French revolutionary war, the powers that be will be dwarfed by the comparison; and if we ascend to the giants and demigods of early times, our great men will have their dimensions sadly curtailed by the comparison. When we survey the state of Europe and of the belligerent Powers at the opening of the present

war, we can see but little to commend or admire. In vain does the eye search for patriotic or philanthropic measures, save in a few solitary instances. The Continent, the footstool of despots, and England, a slave to the trading spirit,—such is the political aspect of Europe in 1852-3. The voice of the people was generally silenced by the beat of the drum, the noblest representatives of many nations were beneath the sod or beggared wanderers on foreign strands, and courts and cabinets, with few exceptions, were occupied by unprincipled or imbecile monarchs and ministers.

A Bourbon dynasty in Spain and Naples patronized, and even the foster-children of British diplomacy had rendered a despotism and a constitution equally odious and ridiculous. An unholy Court, which had been expelled from the Vatican by an outburst of Roman patriotism, had been restored by French republican legionaries. The most venerable constitution in Europe, together with the liberties and independence of a gallant race, had been suppressed in blood by the Hapsburg dynasty.

Germany lay bound hand and foot at the pedestal of the Czar; England was in turn the dupe and the terror of all the Powers; and though it may be unseasonable to speak of France, truth bids us declare that her position was unworthy of her past.

Russia alone seemed striding on to universal empire, amidst the incense of venal courts and cabinets, and flushed with her unprecedented success; whilst Turkey, which was described as a palsied moribund by ignorant or knavish writers, was the only country in Christendom that preserved a trace of manliness, spirit, and honesty in domestic and foreign policy. Yet that little was soon to succumb to the influence of Northern diplomacy, which has been the occasion of a greater number of mistakes and blunders than any confederation recorded in history.

In order to give the reader an insight into this fatal influence, which, next to the insatiable ambition of Russia, has been the principal cause of the Eastern Question, we shall enter somewhat minutely into the condition of the Christians and the Christian Powers in the Levant. This is the more desirable, inasmuch as the present contest arose ostensibly from the dispute about the Holy Places, though the aggressions of Muscovy in the Levant preceded the advent of the Mussulmans at Constantinople, and historians record the incursions of pagan Russians on the territory of the Christian Byzantines.

In describing the position of native Christians, and of the Christian Powers in the Ottoman Empire, we shall begin by a solemn protest against the wilful or ignorant falsehoods disseminated by superficial writers and tourists on this subject.¹ We have already had occasion to dwell on this matter in a former part, and we shall only add, that those authors who have only paid a passing visit would do wisely to observe silence, or to draw from others better informed, and that all who venture on this disputed ground have no excuse for their blind-

¹ We must especially condemn "Turkey and its Destiny," by Macfarlane; the works of Captain Spencer; Ranke's "History of the Servian Revolution," "The Greek and the Turk." It is true that it would have been unnatural to expect fair statements from a Neapolitan mercenary and a Prussian professor.

ness, and no cloak for their prejudice, with the ample materials now placed before the world by the most competent authorities on all matters relating to Turkey.

With regard to those who have not visited Turkey, it is their bounden duty to consult and abide by the decision of those men and writers who are most conversant with Eastern manners and life. We venture to assert that there is not a single writer profoundly versed in Turkish habits and life whose opinion does not differ *toto coelo* from those of most fireside politicians and butterfly tourists. No person can peruse the pages of Layard, Smyth, Miss Pardoe, and even Ubicini, without detecting the mass of folly that passes current in the Occident on the subject of Turkey.

Beginning with the position of the Christian Powers, we shall astonish some persons by informing them that, owing to the unparalleled tolerance and liberality of the Porte, the Christian nations of Europe have long been able to govern their own subjects in Turkey as easily as at home. In other words, foreigners in Turkey were in a great measure independent of the local government, and above the local laws, owing to a compact of ancient date, called the Capitulations.¹ We shall not dilate on the abuses to which such a system was liable to give birth, simply introducing one illustration on the subject. Constantinople, though under Mohammedan law, and admitting polygamy, has been hitherto one of the most moral of cities. Its vast population is kept quiet and decorous by a score or two of constables.² The only brawls and cases of theft and personal violence emanate almost exclusively from British subjects, in the person of those exemplary Ionian Greeks, who, like their countrymen on the mainland, have shown their gratitude for our favours by trying to betray us to Russia. The chief cause of the existence and continuance of these street-brawls is the impunity secured to these gallant British subjects by the Capitulations.

These remarks will suffice to show that the Christian Powers have for a long time possessed the most extraordinary immunities and privileges in Turkey. For what should we think of capitulations securing an almost entire political and legislative independence to Frenchmen and Catholics in England? It would probably appear an instance of culpable condescension, and the existence of a parallel system in Turkey is sufficient to expose the pile of rubbish that has been written to prove the bigotry and intolerance of the Turks.

It can scarcely surprise the reader, after the previous examples of facility on the part of the Porte, that it has granted an almost equal amount of influence to Christian governments over its own subjects. The Protectorate of the native Christians was a natural result of the Capitulations, and both have been equally fatal to Turkey and dangerous to Europe. Here, again, our observations are calculated to astound the patient and exemplary student of newspaper correspondents; but truth bids us cleave their cherished theories in twain, and inform them that the Protectorate of the native Christians in Turkey has been a curse to themselves and a misfortune to us. The sequel

¹ See Ubicini's "Letters" for a good account of the Capitulations.

² Miss Pardoe's "City of the Sultan."

will show the close connection between the Capitulations and the Protectorate, and their intimate relation with the present war; and it remains for us to add, that these two institutions, by placing Turkey at the mercy of secret diplomacy, have been the chief, if not the only cause of her disasters.

It may be laid down as an axiom, as established by lengthy and painful experience, that any country placed under the guidance of Christian diplomacy is in danger of ruin. It may also be laid down as an axiom, that in the game of diplomacy the greatest knaves are sure to win. Hence those governments that did not intrigue were the dupes and tools of their more wily confederates, and all were knowing or unconscious instruments of the most artful—Russia.

These axioms, which have been amply justified by history,¹ lead to the following result, that the secret diplomacy of the Confederate Powers of Christendom has been used as a powerful vehicle by Russia to enslave her neighbours, and that Turkey, being pre-eminently under the influence of secret Christian diplomacy, has been artfully mismanaged and revolutionized by Muscovy, through the medium of the Protecting Powers.

Our limits will not suffer us to introduce any lengthy illustrations of these statements; but many of the most recent and intelligent residents and visitors in Turkey bear witness to these facts, by showing that almost every useful institution and public work, introduced or attempted to be established in the Ottoman Empire for many years past, has been opposed or thwarted by Russian intrigue;² that almost every measure and innovation that has been forced on Turkey by the Protecting Powers, has been ruinous both to its Mussulman and Christian population; and that the increasing prosperity of the Ottoman Empire, in defiance of all these obstacles, was the real and chief cause of the present war, as Muscovy was afraid lest Turkey would become too powerful, and escape its grasp by shaking off the fatal Protectorate of Christendom. The sympathy and protection afforded by Turkish tolerance and charity to the Christian refugees from Hungary, in defiance of the threats of the Protecting Powers of Christendom, had taught Russia that her influence and that of secret diplomacy was on the wane at the Porte, and she resolved to strike ere it was too late.

In order to show how little cause there was to justify the claim of influence and interference in the domestic administration of native Christians by the Porte, we shall adduce a few facts, derived from the most authentic sources.

There was probably no country in Europe in which local communities and sectarian parties enjoyed so much independence and so many immunities as in Turkey, till they were recently abolished by the Protecting Powers. Each great Christian confession was governed almost exclusively by its own Patriarch and its own laws, and the immense wealth, power, and influence attained by the Armenian

¹ See "The Progress of Russia in the East," by Sir J. M'Neil, and "The Progress of Russia North, West, and South," by D. Urquhart.

² Miss Pardoe, *ubi supra*. Ubicini, *ubi supra*. "Frontier Lands of the Christian and Turk." Curzon's "Armenia."

bankers,¹ is a proof of the freedom and immunities that they enjoyed.

Provided the Christians paid the moderate capitation-tax, the Porte did not interfere with them.² Much of the landed property in European Turkey is in their hands,³ and the Bulgarian peasantry, till ruined by the Russian invasion, were better fed and more comfortable than any other in Europe.⁴ Travellers, a few years ago, give frequent instances of Greek Christian villages in Thessaly, &c., left almost to their own management, governed and guided by a local and national municipality.⁵ It may be safely added, that the portion of Turkey in which the Christian population was most degraded, suffered the heaviest burdens, and had least independence, was the Danubian Principalities, governed by an aristocratic constitution of native nobles, by a family of Greek princes, and by Russian protection.⁶

If we examine the present position of Roman Catholics in Ireland, of Protestants in Spain, and of Jews throughout Christendom, we shall obtain a juster appreciation of the charity and tolerance of the Mohammedan Turks, and of the mockery implied by the assumption of a Protectorate of the Christians in Turkey by European diplomacy.

Many of the cases of local and accidental extortions of Christians that have been grossly misrepresented,⁷ originated in Russian or in Austrian intrigue,⁸ and almost in every instance the extortioners and oppressors were the Slavonian Mussulmans of Bosnia, or the Arnauts. The dreaded janissaries themselves were chiefly natives of, or connected with, the Slavonian population of European Turkey, for the Ottoman Turk is essentially one of the most good-natured and tolerant characters in the world.⁹

But perhaps the best evidence of the fallacy of the assertions about the oppression of the Christians by the Turks, is that which the reader has already gathered from these pages. Voltaire in his day records that the *Romani* of the Danubian Principalities, who are Greek Christians, preferred the Turkish sway to Russian rule or protection, and that they would not assist Prince Cantemir in his perfidious rebellion against his benefactors. If we peruse the pages of Captain Slade, who is very partial to the Slavonians of Turkey, we shall find not only that the Bulgarian Christians are the happiest peasantry in Turkey, but that they were bitterly disappointed and enraged at their treatment by the Muscovites in 1828-9.¹⁰ Nor shall we be surprised at this when we find that the Russian generals ordered men, women, and children to be harnessed in droves to carts, and to labour unmer-

¹ Macfarlane's Turkey and its Destiny. Urquhart's Turkey and its Resources.

² *Ib.*

³ *Ib.*, and Ubicini's Letters.

⁴ Slade's Records of Travel. See Part I.

⁵ Dr. Holland's Albania and Greece.

⁶ See Part I. "Frontier Lands." Oliphant's Russian Shores of the Black Sea.

⁷ See especially some related by Smyth in his "Year among the Turks," where he exposes the exaggerations of superficial writers.

⁸ Cyprien Robert.

⁹ *Hommaire de Hell*. Lord Byron. "Frontier Lands." Ubicini. Urquhart.

¹⁰ Slade's Records of Travel, vols. 1 and 2.

cifully in forwarding the material and provisions of the Muscovite army; and this they were to do for their gallant protectors, who, as usual, ruined their property and forgot to pay them.

If we pass to the Armenians, we are informed by two of the best British authorities¹ on the East, that they have been effectually disgusted with Russian protection in 1829, when their territory was laid waste, and their churches were desecrated by those orthodox Christians. Nor was this all, for when multitudes of them were induced or intimidated to cross the frontier and settle in Russia, they were starved or placed in unhealthy marshy spots, without habitations or shelter, when thousands perished from the effects of hardship and the inclemency of the weather.

If our periodical publications,² which are often a disgrace to this country, instead of copying each other's falsehoods, were to take the pains of investigating such momentous matters, seriously and solidly, it would be not only a national but a universal boon, as they would not inundate the country with such distressing repetitions about grievances that have no existence save in their own goose quills. We confess that it is with a feeling of deep melancholy that we have perused the numerous displays of British ignorance and intolerance with which our newspaper, general, and periodical press has teemed during the present contest. We had hoped that the day was past when names stood for things, and when the term *Christian* could cover a multitude of sins, whilst *Mussulman* corresponded to every infamy.

We might dilate at much length on this painful theme. We might show that the Greeks, for whom a Byron sacrificed himself, are a synonyme for falsehood, and the incarnation of every baseness.³ We might show that the Armenians are like a large class at home, the slaves of gold, lost to all high impulses and noble principles;⁴ we have already shown that the poor degraded Romani peasantry are the most abject paupers under the protection of Russia and the holy orthodox Church; whilst their nobles are the impersonation of all kinds of immorality. After this picture of the Christians of Eastern Europe, we might add, that the Ottoman Turk is the most perfect example of a native gentleman to be found in any land—that he is true to his word, modest in his language and carriage, not ashamed of the faith of his fathers, and the only man in Europe who in all positions displays a proper self-respect, neither cringing to superior nor insolent to inferior. In short, we might have shown that the Ottoman Empire is the only country where tolerance is truly understood, and where men earnestly strive to live up to the spirit of their religion, without sacrificing duty to expediency in public as well as private life.⁵

¹ Curzon's Armenia, and Frazer's Tartar Journey to Teheran.

² We have especially in view a leading Morning Paper, and an influential Quarterly Review.

³ Let the reader who doubts this read the description given of them by Admiral Slade, and Captain Spencer in his "European Turkey." See also "The Greek and the Turk."

⁴ Miss Pardoe.

⁵ Lord Byron. Urquhart. Smyth. Miss Pardoe.

Ere we commence a chronicle of this momentous struggle, it has appeared desirable to us to give a very cursory notice of the principal public characters that have had a prominent share in its transactions. It is not our purpose to present a biography of the monarchs and ministers of the war, which we have attempted elsewhere, but a passing notice of the Czar, the Sultan, the German Powers, and France, seems demanded in this place.

Of Nicholas, it will suffice to say that he is still a handsome man, of iron constitution, without a heart and without much head, the small share of wit that he possesses having been fairly or foully lost by the intoxication attending his immense power and unbounded success, and by the flattery of friends and foes. Always a foe to everything liberal, and very partial to order, he has of late years become imbued with a fiercer and gloomier fanaticism, and it is reported that he views himself as a divine instrument, employed to spread the influence and glory of the Russian Church. It is unsafe to accuse any one of base hypocrisy without strong evidence, but circumstances which transpired in the course of the Mentschikoff embassy seem to prove that the glowing enthusiasm of the faith of Nicholas has admitted several elements of a less honest and truthful character. As regards the aggressive designs of the Czar, they must not be too exclusively attributed to this man, as they are the heir-loom of Peter the Great, a weakness of the Romanoff dynasty, and a characteristic of the Russian people.

Passing to Abdul-Medjid, we find a noble specimen of a monarch and of a man. Though, like most educated Turks, he is ready to place confidence in Christians, and to be guided by British diplomacy, he has on some occasions shaken off this generous but dangerous pliancy, and in defiance of the caresses and threats of ambassadors, and their army of *attachés*, he has dared to perform noble actions that will challenge the admiration of posterity. When Hungary, like Rome, after being cajoled and flattered by France and England, was abandoned by Palmerston and the National Assembly, the relics of the Magyar heroes and martyrs were tenderly received and hospitably cherished by the barbarous Turk; and when Western diplomacy threatened Turkey, in order to enforce their extradition claimed by Russia and Austria, the Sultan magnanimously exclaimed: "Perish my Empire first!" and the Frank who knows the Turks better than any other man living, and who travelled through Turkey at the time, said that he found the same sentiment universal in the meanest village. Many of Abdul-Medjid's measures may have been weak and ill-judged, and it is evident that he is too subservient to the German embassies, which are ruining Turkey; but the gallantry of that spirited resolve will atone for a host of errors and of defects. In his private character, the Sultan appears to be a most amiable and accomplished man, and in this degenerate age, he is one of the very few sovereigns now reigning who does not appear to disgrace his throne.

Of Louis Napoleon, the impartiality of history requires us to give a chequered account. He rose to power by a crime, and his empire has been raised on the ruins of his country's Constitution. But we must remember that the government which he destroyed had been guilty of still greater offences, and amply deserved its fate, and that

the nominal Constitution of France had become a national nuisance. The middle class in France, by its insane reaction, had effectually alienated the lower classes, who are the best part of the nation, and who hailed the *coup d'état* as their avenger. It must also be admitted, that though Louis Napoleon came to power by irregular means and violent measures, and though he established a despotic government, under the auspices of the army and the priests, he had the majority of the nation with him, and he has subsequently conciliated the esteem of many of his foes by his consummately skilful policy, and by the close and popular alliance which he has contracted with England,—a great era in the history of the world. The present war has made the French Emperor very popular with a large part of his countrymen.

Of Austria little good can be said, and of the King of Prussia, history will relate that his reign and his character are an epitome, and a compound of all that is base and odious in a sovereign and a Christian. The recall of such a man as Chevalier Bunsen is sufficient evidence of the hollowness and criminality of Prussian policy; and though Austria has appeared latterly more disposed to shake off the disgraceful weight of a Russian Protectorate and a Prussian Alliance, after our experience of the perfidy of the House of Hapsburg, little reliance can be placed on it, unless its interests imperatively bind it to act an upright and a manly part. Vienna Conferences have already been the cause of the war; and the intrigues of Prince Gortschakoff during the summer of 1854, at the Austrian capital, prove the hold that Russia has got on that perishing Empire, most of whose leading statesmen and generals are already little better than Russian agents and spies. The Emperor of Austria has it in his power to act a noble and a patriotic part by casting himself on the sympathies of the gallant Magyars and Italians; but a magnanimous policy might sooner be expected from a Spanish Bourbon than a Hapsburg Prince.

After this brief survey of the principal belligerent Powers, we must pass to the consideration of the ruling power and principle of the war, which we have hitherto overlooked: I allude to secret diplomacy. Those who have been behind the scenes have proclaimed that the fate and liberties of nations are decided behind the curtains in Vienna drawing-rooms, over a cup of coffee. Secret diplomacy is, in short, a political Jesuitism, destructive to every country that admits it, and only profitable to Russia, and the agents whom it employs and pays in every country to carry out its designs. Russian embassies have been the ruin of every state in Europe: the secret diplomacy and policy of Russia has got every cabinet in its toils, and the inextricable web of intermarriages between the Romanoffs and most dynasties in Germany and the West is one of the greatest triumphs of Russian policy, as every archduchess is bound by her faith to blind obedience to the Czar, and every princess marrying with Russia is bound to become a member of the Russian Church, or a tool of the Emperor. Hence the present Empress, a born Protestant, daughter of Louisa of Prussia, and sister of the present King, is a most efficient diplomatic agent, chaining down Prussia to a neutrality more fatal to us than open war.

We must enter, however, a little more minutely into the machinery and system of the secret diplomacy of the great European Powers.

Beginning with England, the people of this country are very confiding in foreign politics, and think that veteran diplomatists are the best men to manage our relations with other nations. Though we rave and rant about parish-rates and canal-shares, we do not scruple to pay an enormous income-tax for measures of foreign policy, carried on in the dark. Opportunity makes the thief, and if you give an inch, most men will take an ell. Foreign Ministers have rarely been over-scrupulous, and as we are careless about their management of external affairs, it is natural that they should occasionally sacrifice their duty and their country to interested motives. It is sad that it should be so, but the moral tone of this age is low, and the chief blame lies with the people which tolerates such a system of deception and darkness, for secrecy has always involved sin. Our most far-sighted patriots have long told us that the wisest thing we could do would be to recall our Ambassadors, and dismiss all foreign ones in London. In short, so long as this system of secret diplomacy is continued, the money and honour of the country may be squandered, and the lives of its soldiers and seamen thrown away, to suit some interested scheme or family bias in our leading diplomatists.

It will be unnecessary to dilate on secret diplomacy on the Continent, as it is the same thing as here, and the instrument of Russia. The best proof we have of the mischief wrought by this system is found in the list of diplomatic creations. The Holy Alliance of Vienna, a harmonious conclave of diplomatists, passed certain measures which have been the curse of Europe. The United Kingdom of the Netherlands, a diplomatic creation of the Holy Alliance, fell to pieces for want of cohesion. Norway was torn from Denmark and handed to Sweden, as a compensation for Finland, which was given up to Russia to satisfy the moderation of the Czar. Cracow was made a Republic, under the protection of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and soon lost every trace of liberty, in defiance of the stipulations of the Protecting Powers, guaranteed by England at the Congress. Soon after this, Greece was supported by the secret diplomacy of Europe, to the advantage of Russia and to the destruction of Turkey, but not for her own good, for she has been a footstool of Russia ever since. Shortly after, the liberties and constitution of Spain were crushed, with the connivance of European diplomacy, though sorely against the will of Canning, who still retained some sense of honesty. We need not repeat our diplomatic follies and sins in 1830 and 1849, in connection with France and Russia, besides the affairs of Syria, Unkiar Skelessi, Balta, Liman, &c.; the closing of the Black Sea, the Sulina Mouth, and the occupation of Circassia, against the interests of Europe, and in defiance of treaties.

Without entering into further minutiae, we will try to develop the system and machinery of secret diplomacy. The system professes to aim at the preservation of the balance of power and order. Yet the events of the last thirty years have proved, without exception, that all negotiations and arrangements have been fatal to the balance of power, by abetting the excessive encroachments of Russia, and that

they have been fatal to the cause of order, by exasperating the nations to rebellion, owing to the excessive oppression it has encouraged.

Secondly, as regards the machinery employed, we have confidential agents and despatches, which often contradict the language laid before the public, and place it in the power of an unprincipled Government to carry out any measures in the dark, without their coming to the cognizance of an injured people. Even the public despatches are only laid before the nation when it is too late to remedy the mischief done, as has been proved in the case of Denmark and Turkey. We cannot avoid adding, in this place, that men of honesty and penetration have advanced strong arguments in favour of the charge that the papers laid before Parliament have often been garbled, and that they prove that many highly-important passages must have been erased. We do not assert this to be the case, but the fact of its possibility, and the existence of the charge, prove the evils attending the present system of secret diplomacy, which ought to be discarded at once, if we value our national character and the peace and safety of the civilized world.

Diplomacy is a game of knaves, in which the least scrupulous man must succeed best; and as Russia is bound by no tie, human or divine, diplomacy has always been her most useful and successful instrument.

Dropping general considerations, we must now descend to the special transactions of the war, beginning with its diplomacy. But as we enter on our *dolorous* way, we must be permitted to express our sincere regret that so many of the basest crimes chronicled in history should have worn the mask of religion, and that one of the foulest pages in the annals of Europe should have been associated with the Holy Places, where the most exalted incarnation of Truth and Justice pronounced the words of peace, and whilst chastising hypocrisy with the curses of Heaven, announced the brotherhood of man, and proclaimed the essence of religion to consist in *neighbourly love*.

France, the earliest of the Christian nations to enter into diplomatic relations with the Turk, had secured by early treaties and capitulations an interest in the privileges of the Latin monks in Syria. During the course of several generations, those privileges, in respect to the custody of the buildings and Holy Places, had come to be somewhat divided with rival communities of the Eastern Church. The restoration of these privileges to the Latins, according to the strict letter of ancient treaties, was the demand of France. The continuance of the existing state of things was the demand of the Greek Church. In May 20th, 1850, Sir Stratford Canning wrote to Lord Palmerston to say that the conflicting interests of the Latin and Greek Churches in the East were likely to come into collision about the Holy Places. In the beginning of 1851, the Russian Minister at Stamboul is first mentioned as appearing to quarrel on behalf of his Government, protesting against any change.

Aware of the danger likely to ensue from such a dispute, the Porte tried to obtain delay, and to avoid committing itself to either party. Lord Palmerston's instructions to the British Minister were to watch proceedings, and to report them.

In March 1852, a settlement seemed to be effected ; and on the 19th of that month, Sir Stratford Canning wrote to Lord Malmesbury to announce the termination of the long pending question of the Syrian Sanctuaries. This despatch reached England on the ominous 1st of April ; but the evasive measures of the Porte, or rather diplomatic chicanery, opened the question in a more serious aspect than before ; and in the autumn, Lord Malmesbury was informed by Sir H. Seymour and Colonel Rose that the question was becoming one of real anxiety, owing to the *menacing attitude* assumed by the *Protecting Powers* towards the Porte.

Lord Malmesbury adhered to the policy of his predecessor, and directed Colonel Rose to abstain from all direct interference. This policy was professed to be continued by the Coalition. As regards the question of the right of France to a legal interest in the privileges of the Latin Church in Syria, it rested on specific treaties or capitulations. It was simply the desire of a great Roman Catholic Power to protect the Roman Catholic Church. But the right of Russia to support the rival claims of the Greek community did not rest, or profess to rest, on any such specific obligations. It was founded on a kind of traditional and qualified Protectorate, and on the habit of the Porte in communicating to Russia, from time to time, firmans and promises issued in favour of the Greeks. Such a Protectorate, even in respect to the question of the Holy Places, was unquestionably not free from objection in point of principle ; and to assume, upon the strength of it, a right to menace the Porte, did obviously involve a claim very easy of indefinite extension.

Thus, even during Lord Derby's Ministry, the question of the Holy Places had assumed a very serious aspect, and involved undoubtedly the dangerous question of a Russian interest in the privileges of Christian subjects of the Porte.

Lord Malmesbury does not appear to have perceived that any different light was thrown on this policy by the Memorandum of 1844. Yet its principles were not without an important bearing on the ominous question which had arisen in the East, and his special attention had been called to it by Brunow on entering office. The contingency alluded to in it by the Emperor in 1844, had occurred in 1852, and called for a decision on the part of the British Government.

Two great Powers professed to feel their interest and honour compromised in opposite directions by the conduct of the Porte. Each of them was disposed to attribute an attitude of *exclusive dictation* towards the Porte in the other. Here we see at once the fatal evils resulting from the extreme lenience and toleration of Turkey in the Capitulations.

Hitherto nothing direct had transpired between the Russian and English Governments ; but when the Coalition came in, the Emperor immediately began his confidential conversation with Sir H. Seymour, and broached the question of the *sick man*, whilst in the same breath he flattered Lord Aberdeen, his old friend. The first conversation occurred January 1st, the second January 14th, and the news of it reached England on February the 6th. The prevailing spirit throughout the Emperor's language is that of the alleged decrepitude and decay of the Turkish Empire.

A leading Review professes to think that the only duty of England in this case was to decline acting with Russia, without the connivance of the other Powers, or in other words, to decline to plunder Turkey in company with Russia alone; and it adds, that the language of Lord John Russell, in reply to the Emperor's confidential communication, dated February 9th, laid down these principles with equal precision and dignity.

It also affirms that no definite indication of the intention of Russia had been given at that time. Yet we had the Memorandum in our possession to show these intentions. Lord John's reply reached St. Petersburg on the 20th of February, and was read to the Emperor on the 21st. It was on this occasion that Nicholas entered into secret details about the ultimate disposal of the Turkish territory, somewhat analogous in nature to the glorious and high-principled sentiments expressed and carried out by his illustrious ancestor Catherine, in protecting and annexing Poland.

The same Review tries to palliate this conversation, though it admits that it was suspicious to have anticipated a speedy fall of Turkey, and to have associated it with the question of the Holy Places. The account of this conversation reached England, March 6th, and a week before, Lord Stratford had been sent with instructions to Constantinople.

It is affirmed, but it cannot be proved, that Lord Stratford was told to mediate and conciliate in Paris *en route*, and that he was authorized to call for the assistance of the West, in the event of any danger to the Ottoman Empire. But no one informs us whence this danger was apprehended, and it is not impossible that the opposition of the old Turkish party to the anti-national measures of diplomacy might have been called its chief danger by the Coalition Ministry.

The Russian special envoy reached Constantinople a few days after Lord Stratford had left London, and the news of his mission reached England, March 19th. So threatening had that message appeared, that Colonel Rose, *Chargé d'Affaires* in Turkey, who was not then much of a diplomatist, had sent a message for our fleet to visit the waters of the Levant (March 7th). This would have been a sad rock of offence to our favourite policy, and discountenanced by Lord Stratford; hence Colonel Rose, on second thoughts, or better instructed, countermanded the fleet. Lord Stratford only reached Constantinople, April 5th.

Meanwhile important communications had taken place. On the 6th and 19th of March, Lord Clarendon received the Emperor's observations and memorandum, on the reply of Lord J. Russell to his first confidential communication. He professed perfect openness with the British Government, he did not apprehend an immediate fall of Turkey, and he disclaimed all plans of partition *before hand*. On the 4th April, Lord Clarendon received Sir Hamilton Seymour's report of the reply of the Russian Government to his question about the mission of Prince Mentschikoff. That reply contained a specific assurance that an adjustment of the difficulties respecting the Holy Places would settle all matters in dispute between Russia and the

Porte, and that the Chancellor was not aware that Prince Mentschikoff had any other grievances to bring forward.

Still reports reached Lord Clarendon of the movement of Russian troops in the south of Russia, and he directed Sir Hamilton, on the 5th of April, to ask for an explanation of them from the Russian Government. On the 11th, he heard from Colonel Rose that the Russian Envoy was reported to have proposed to the Porte a secret treaty; and on the 15th, he received from the same source certain particulars which seemed in some sort to authenticate the report. Here we would pause a moment, and, setting aside questions of etiquette, ask if it was not injudicious in British statesmen, trained to diplomacy and versed in history, to place so much confidence in the gentlemanly word of the Russian monarch and ministers, and to trust in their professions of loyalty? Did they forget that, immediately after a most liberal and philanthropic manifesto, full of disinterested professions, Catherine annexed the Crimea, and partitioned Poland?

But to proceed: the Russian Ambassador, a snare wherever he appears, gave to the Government *explicit assurances* from his Court, not merely that the Emperor intended to respect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but specifically, that all the idle rumours about Prince Mentschikoff, relating to hostile and menacing language, the occupation of the Danubian Principalities, &c., were destitute of every sort of foundation. He added that the mission never had, and had not then, any object, but that which had been stated to the British Cabinet. With such assurances, says a clever Review, with consummate sagacity, nothing could be done but wait for the arrival of Lord Stratford at Stamboul, and receive his advice and report. Such was to be the course followed by our statesmen, with their long experience of Russian honesty!—*Trust and wait!*

His first despatch arrived on the 26th of April. It could no longer be doubted that Prince Mentschikoff had indicated the existence of ulterior demands, beyond the question of the Holy Places. But *trust and wait* to the end.

In this emergency, Lord Stratford had influenced the Ottoman Porte. He told them to study to keep the question of the Holy Places distinct from subsequent demands, and if those demands involved anything dangerous, or inconvenient to the Sultan's authority, he as a Christian Minister gave them his advice, *i. e.*, permission to object to them.

A second despatch of Lord Stratford, three days later, enclosed the substance of the secret treaty of Prince Mentschikoff—*wait and trust*. Five days later, on the 11th, he reported the Note of the Russian Ambassador as softened. The Envoy's object was now to reinstate Russian influence in Turkey on an exclusive basis, but there was no question of a defensive treaty, and, unless as a consequence of the late naval movement from Toulon, no thought of military intimidation for the present. France was pronounced as conciliatory, and Austria as leaning to Russia.

The new designs betrayed by Russia, we are told, induced Lord Stratford to impress on the French Minister the immense importance of settling the affair of the Holy Places, so as not to embroil the two cases.

This object was effected, April 25th, when the matter of the Holy Places was finally settled, to the satisfaction of the French and Russian embassies. The news of this achievement reached England, May 9th.

Directly after this, Lord Clarendon is said to have written to the Russian Government, expressing surprise at the further secret demands of Mentschikoff, and warning it that England would adhere strictly to her ancient policy, and support the independence of the Ottoman Empire; as if it had not long departed, since the intolerable influence assumed by the Protecting Powers.

On the 18th, the British Government heard that Prince Mentschikoff had made a still more peremptory demand; on the 22d arrived another despatch from Lord Stratford, with his views on the situation. He admits in it that he advised, *i. e.* directed, the Porte to make every possible concession. He was supported by the French Minister in his policy and opinion. They both deprecated the peremptory attitude assumed by the Russian Envoy, at the same time that they entered into all those considerations which naturally result from the *weakness of the Turkish Empire*. The latter clause reads somewhat strangely after Silistria, but—*wait and trust!*

France was even more cautious at this time than England. M. Drouyn de l'Huys could not assume the responsibility of advising the Porte to reject the demands of Prince Mentschikoff, though admitting the validity of the objections made to them by the Porte. The hope of active support from France had not been encouraged by M. de la Cour.

At this time, England and France interchanged the formality of an assurance of their determination to uphold the Turkish Empire. We can now appreciate this assurance by reflecting that the present safety of Turkey is due as much to Turkish bravery, as to British and French diplomacy and arms.

Four days after the interchange of these assurances, or on the 2d of May, the Government heard of the rupture of diplomatic relations between Russia and Turkey, and of the departure of Prince Mentschikoff from Constantinople.

Lord Stratford, in his despatches after this, seems to anticipate the worst consequences. The effect of his apprehension was to direct the fleets to approach the waters of the Archipelago, an act which some attribute to the weak and exposed nature of Turkey, whilst some will explain it as a means of coercing Turkey, and preventing her from resisting the entrance of the Russians into the Principalities, which she would have succeeded in doing, if her hands had not been bound.

Lord Clarendon wrote to Lord Stratford to say that a declaration of war by Russia against Turkey, the embarkation of troops at Sebastopol, or any other well-established fact, demonstrating unmistakable hostility, would justify him in sending for the fleet. For what purpose? Judging from what we now know, possibly to keep the Turks in order, so that they might not hastily resist Russian aggression. This despatch was written on the 30th May, and a fortnight after, the fleets of France and England were anchored at Besika Bay.

Before we pass to a consideration of subsequent events, let us here pause to examine the nature of the claims made by Prince Mentschi-

koff, in his demands after the settlement of the question of the Holy Places.

Prince Alexander Sergiewitsch Mentschikoff, a descendant of the pastrycook's boy, who was the favourite of Peter the Great, is an adherent of the old Muscovite party, and had served with some distinction under Alexander, and in the last Turkish and Persian wars. This man, who, like most Russian nobles, united the cunning of the diplomatist with the courage of the soldier, was appointed to undertake the extraordinary mission to Constantinople in 1853. He appeared at the Turkish capital, on the 28th February 1853, with a splendid suite, and had his first audience of the Grand Vizier, March 8th, in which he not only endeavoured to intimidate the Sultan's Government into compliance about the Holy Places, but tried to force it to submit to a Protectorate of Russia over the Greek Church in Turkey.

Though the Sultan had consented to all necessary concessions concerning the Holy Places, on the 10th February, and though Russia and France had declared themselves satisfied on that score, Mentschikoff made new complaints on the subject, pretending that the Sultan's ministers refused to carry out the intentions of their master, and he took advantage of this plea to put forth the most unwarrantable and disgraceful claims that one Government could attempt to thrust upon another. These claims amounted to nothing less than a demand that the Sultan should resign his sceptre over half his subjects to Russia. Such was the Protectorate of the Czar over the Greek Church in Turkey, claimed by Russia; and we must here pause a moment to show the baseless nature of the assumption in two points of view: First, the Greek Church in Turkey did not require any protection, owing to the tolerance and liberality of the Porte; second, the members of the Greek Church in Turkey, with the Patriarch of Constantinople, regard the Czar and the Russian Church as heretics, and have proved their hostility to them by paying voluntary contributions to the war, and equipping bodies of Greek Christian Cossacks to go and fight the Muscovites. History has also justified their view of the case by showing that since Peter the Great deposed the Patriarch of Moscow, and assumed his tiara, the Russian Church has broken its orthodoxy, and become schismatic with regard to the Mother Church at Constantinople, which accounts for the myriads of dissenters who swarm in Russia, and all of whom look to Constantinople for protection, and to its Patriarch as the proper head of their Church.¹

Any reader who takes the pains to study the history of the Partition of Poland, will obtain the best key to the Eastern Question. In both cases, members of the Greek Church were made the plea of Russian aggression, and the iniquitous designs of unholy lusts were cloaked under the meek and holy mask of religion. Reverting to our history on the 19th of April, Mentschikoff declared in a second Note that the Emperor was justified in demanding firm sureties for the future, guaranteeing freedom of worship for the Christian subjects of the

¹ For an account of the *Staroveritse*, see Golovin's Nations of Russia and Turkey, Moritz Wagner's Kaukasus. The Author's Turkey Past and Present. Urquhart's Progress of Russia. Introduction.

Sultan, most of whom acknowledged the same religion as himself. After our previous remarks, the fallacy of this claim will be apparent. Nevertheless, the Porte, with its usual leniency, issued, May the 5th, two additional firmans, granting everything that the most unreasonable importunity required in the case of the Holy Places; and here again occurs the reflection of the fatality by which the holiest names, and the most venerable memories, associated with all that is divinest and purest in man and sublimest in God, should be prostituted by the whitewashed religion of modern Christendom to sanction and support a gulf of infamy. The firmans settling the question of the Holy Places did not satisfy Mentschikoff, who was directed by his master to pick a quarrel at all hazards. The Envoy maintained that those firmans did not satisfy the demands of the Emperor as regards the Protectorate of the Greek Church, and that no notice had been taken of this matter, which was the chief object of his embassy. Hence, continued this complaisant envoy of a friendly Power, the settlement was still a matter of expectation, and he allowed the Porte a further delay till the 10th May, before requiring a final answer. These reasonable and moderate propositions of the Czar being declined by the refractory Porte, Mentschikoff intimated, that as he saw in further negotiations only a means of procrastination, he considered his mission at an end, and he should depart. This threat remained without effect, and on May the 21st, he left Constantinople.

There have been many audacious claims put forth by aggressive monarchs in the past, but in vain do we ransack the archives of history to detect a parallel instance of insolence and hypocrisy.

The same day (May 30th) that the British Government ordered the departure of our fleet from Malta, the Emperor of Russia committed himself to the occupation of the Principalities, if within eight days the ultimatum of Mentschikoff were not accepted by the Porte. This fact alone is sufficient to destroy the argument that Russia was compelled to march in, to respond to the threat of the combined fleets sailing into the Turkish waters. Dates prove that not even the passage of the Dardanelles would have prevented the invasion of the Russians, but they do not prove that Turkey might not have prevented it, if we had not kept her back.

An interval of four months elapsed from the date of the order issued to the fleets to sail to Besika, to the declaration of war by Turkey. The latter event did not take place till the 4th of October. These four months were occupied by active preparations for war on both sides, and by continual fruitless negotiations on the part of the Four Powers. The result of these intrigues was the war, which might perhaps have been prevented if Turkey had been suffered to act alone, and uninfluenced by friends, who are often more dangerous than declared foes.

The Edinburgh Review justly shows that the claims of a Protectorate advanced by Russia were nothing but a march in the most formidable of all directions to the Empire of the East, and the commencement of a process of absorption more dangerous than direct war. But it is a fallacy to maintain that Turkey, owing to her decline, had been forced to give up her independence by granting a Protectorate over her Christian subjects to Russia, and then argue that as

this was her own fault, we could not prevent it—that we might regret it, but were not bound to go to war to obviate its consequences. We have shown that the grant of the Protectorate was the result of Ottoman charity and tolerance, and the influence acquired by Russia was the result of our diplomatic interference; hence there was ample cause for us to regret and endeavour to repair a state of things caused by our own blunders or dishonesty. Some writers pretend that we were not called upon to endanger the peace of Europe in order to restore territories to Turkey, lost by her own decay; but how can they meet the objection that the revolution of Greece, the invasion of Syria, the theft of Algiers, and of the Ionian islands, in short, every instance of disaster that Turkey has suffered recently, have been the results of the diplomacy of Christendom, and frequently of British intrigue? It is to narrow-minded or unprincipled statesmen in England that Turkey is indebted for the present war; and the people of this country have ample cause to regret the follies of their Foreign Secretaries.

We hear of a multitude of counsellors advising the Porte a great many things about this time, some of which have transpired, and others not; but as we have since had good reason to know that bad advice gave rise to the passage of the Pruth and the massacre of Sinope, we may arrive at a proximate knowledge of those counsels which have not transpired, and which preceded them. The advocates of prudential measures have the candour to admit that they are not interested in proving that the war might not have been begun sooner, or rendered inevitable at an earlier time: they allow “that there is no doubt of that.” But we maintain that this admission involves the whole question, and proves those counsellors to have been guilty of the grossest infatuation, or of the most culpable credulity.

Any European statesman ought to have known, by the example of the Partition of Poland, the amount of veracity contained in all Russian protestations and diplomatic pretences. Yet the whole question of the war has been one of diplomacy up to the present time, and we see the Austrian Cabinet, from first to last, addicted to the protocols of Vienna, to diplomatic notes, and to the whole machinery of Muscovite intrigue. It is evident that a patriotic Government should have cast aside all negotiations at once, and have threatened an immediate and a decided appeal to arms. This novel tone would have directly stopped the war. Another and a better step would have been to have left Turkey to act freely, when she would have given a good account of the Russian army in Wallachia.

But even if we condescend to enter the slippery field of diplomacy, we find that former treaties, especially that of Kainardji, only contain this clause: “The Sublime Porte promises constantly to protect the Christian religion and churches.” Hence the claims of Mentschikoff were not only base, but baseless. The Porte has only engaged to show toleration, and this she has long done, in a manner to put most of Christendom to the blush. The design of Russia, therefore, in her new demands, was to obtain a new footing of interference in the delicate and dangerous relations between the Porte and its Christian subjects.

The first article of the secret treaty of Mentschikoff stipulated that

the Greek religion should be always protected in all the churches, and that Russia should have the right, as in times past, to give orders to the churches, both in Constantinople and in other towns, as well as to ecclesiastics. The second article gave to Russia, in an insidious manner, a right of watching over the election of the four great Patriarchs, thus binding them still closer to Russia. The third article goes into still greater minutiae, regulating the relation of these great ecclesiastical authorities to the Porte.

When Mentschikoff found these terms rejected by the Western Powers, and hence by the Porte, their pupil, he was instigated to lower his tone. A new arrangement was prepared, May 5th, though in it the bases of the stipulations were essentially the same as before. Most of the former convention was now condensed into one article: "That no change be made in the immunities and rights which have been observed *ab antiquo* by the orthodox clergy and churches in the dominions of the Sultan."

As this article was described as being on the same basis as the former, it was evident that the words contained more in them than was at first apparent. Hence the expression *ab antiquo* was loose and large enough to cover anything the Russian Government chose to understand by them. Such is diplomacy.

Lord Stratford now came in and advised that the Porte should submit in part, modifying the expressions. The form of words proposed by him was utterly superfluous, as it conveyed that the rights of the Christians should continue as they had previously been. What, then, was the occasion of the Russian embassy, and why did not our Ambassador, in an open and manly spirit, explain that he thought the whole affair of this extraordinary mission unwarranted and uncalled for? Why, in short, did he descend to the expedients of diplomatic chicanery?

Mentschikoff, finding himself foiled in his exorbitant demands, notwithstanding the concessions of the Porte under British tutelage, broke off diplomatic relations, but offered to resume them at the expense of one more concession in form, but not in substance. A treaty was to be abandoned, and a note substituted. With disgust we turn from these shameful subterfuges, enacted on the same field that has been the witness of the prowess of chivalry, and the heroism of the great of other days.

The term *ab antiquo*, and the vague insidiousness of the former article, adhered to its substitute, and the Porte, still prompted by Lords Stratford and Clarendon, resisted, though it offered concessions, and showed a forbearance worthy of a great and gallant people, and flattering to England which dictated them.

A still greater readiness was shown to meet the wishes of Russia, in the Turkish ultimatum which reached Lord Clarendon, June 10th; and June 27th, the Turkish Government proposed a plan of settlement which merged into the Vienna Note. And now the scene changes: the "Eastern Question" enters a new phase. Vienna becomes a hotbed of intrigue, and the focus of duplicity and imbecility, and we hear of showers of notes, protocols, intrigues, articles, and other diplomatic appliances, that suffice to make the angels weep.

Meanwhile Mentschikoff had departed, having been thwarted in

obtaining his object, *i. e.*, "the grant of absolute sovereignty over the Greek Christians in Turkey," and he left with a threat of resorting to ulterior measures.

At the same time, despatches from Lord Stratford and M. de la Cour showed that they were straining every nerve to hold back the Turks, and prevent them from resisting that aggression on the part of Russia which was then imminent. In one despatch, Lord Stratford says, "It may be added that, in a military point of view, resistance could not be offered to Russia in that quarter under present circumstances, with any prospect of success." But Lord Stratford is a doubtful authority in strategy, if we may judge from the incessant triumphs of Omar Pacha since October 1853.

Soon after this, the German Powers at Stamboul became mixed up with the affair, from which most satisfactory results were anticipated, in a moral point of view, by our Ambassador at the Porte. Yet this Minister was acquainted with the character of the Prussian Government; and the affairs of Montenegro and of Kossta, in which the Austrian Government had just displayed its unrelenting hostility to the Porte, had only occurred shortly before. Such unpardonable blindness is not uncommon in our diplomatists.

The representatives of the Four Powers endeavoured now to urge the Porte to greater humiliations by proposing a new Note, of a still more abject character, blending much of the matter in Prince Menschikoff's article with what had been offered before. It is usual, when a bully attempts to injure a neighbour by unjust demands, for him to retract if you show a bold front; but he invariably displays greater audacity if you show any complaisance and condescension.

It appears, however, that the Porte still retained some spirit, and that it showed at length slight symptoms of insubordination to Christian diplomacy; for though the Sultan's appeal had been given to the Joint Note, announced about July 20th, no farther steps were taken by the Divan, and the matter seemed to be delayed.

But a new episode now occurs in this tilting-match. A light gleamed forth at Vienna, and portents were expected from the French Note, in connection especially with the negotiations of the four ambassadors, still pending at Constantinople. A conference was now held at Vienna, a city of unhappy notoriety; and on July 31st, the Vienna Note was the promising offspring generated by these venerable doctors.

The Vienna Note, like all the other recent dictations to the Porte, contained promises to observe the treaties, and to give the Greek rite the same equality as the other Christians;—in short, to lay down its sceptre.

With men in ordinary business, such repetitions would have been thought a farce, but diplomatists are anomalous beings, loving vain repetitions and thick darkness. Nicholas accepted the Vienna Note, August 11th, but the Porte required modifications¹ in it, which reached

¹ These modifications were requisite to satisfy the honour of the Turkish crown, as a Russian army had been already two months devouring the property of Turkish subjects in the Danubian Principalities, without a shadow of pretence, and in defiance of the laws of nations.

England, August 29th. The passage about equal rights to the Greek Church was objected to, as likely to occasion dangerous results.¹ The modifications proposed by the Porte were admitted to be unobjectionable at Vienna, and consistent with the original intentions of the friendly Powers.

Russia refused the modifications, and accompanied its refusal with most offensive language. Nesselrode criticised the modifications in the spirit of wounded pride, and argued that the interpretations which the Porte wished to exclude were such as Russia would insist upon. Western diplomacy was now foiled, and the Austrian Ministry were alarmed, for the Czar was offended, and they were afraid that they could no longer shield their old friend. The view that Russia took of the case clearly proves that the Opposition were right in believing that Russia would have taken advantage of the original Vienna Note to obtain all she claimed. It is useless to discuss this point, as Russia, for more than 150 years, has proved that the language of the clearest treaties can be perverted in any manner by an unprincipled Power, and that the civilized nations of the world ought to have known her too well to resort to the unsafe expedient of diplomacy in order to check her insatiable desires.

Even the best casuists in the cause of despotism admit that the language held by Russia, in refusing to the Porte the liberty of requiring modifications in the Note which the Sultan was himself to sign, implied a denial to that sovereign of the commonest rights of an independent crown. This result was announced by Lord Stratford, September 20th.

All this time, we have overlooked the uncomfortable fact that the Danubian Principalities had been occupied by Russia in time of peace, in contravention of treaties since June 1853, and that the Turks were prevented by the Western embassies from driving them out, under the pretext of their being too weak to do so, and because it was better to avoid war. It will be evident now to every thinking man, that if it was difficult for Turkey to collect a large force on the Pruth, it was much more so for Russia; and if the armies had met, the talents of Omar Pacha and the rage of the Ottomans might have made all invasion impossible, and superseded the necessity of a diplomatic masquerade, and all the subsequent losses of this war.

At length, in defiance of the advice of Lord Stratford, Lord Clarendon was informed by him, about October 2d, that the Turkish Government had resolved on a declaration of war. "This resolution," says a certain Review, "was come to against the advice of Lord Stratford, though the Russians had held the Principalities for nearly five months." With this fact before us, how shall we qualify the influence of our Ambassador and diplomacy in the East?

Having done all in their power to hold back Turkey, when she wished to defend herself, the next step of German diplomacy was to

¹ This objection was perfectly just. The Greek Christians in Turkey amount to 9,000,000, and the remainder to 1,000,000 or 2,000,000. Hence, in granting the Protectorate of the Greek Christians in Turkey to the Czar, the Sultan would have sacrificed half his Empire with a stroke of the pen.

paralyze her military and naval operations by delaying and dividing them. The result is shown at Sinope, and in the immediate resolution of England and France to send their fleets to Constantinople.

October 8th, the British Government sent a despatch to Lord Stratford, ordering the fleets to go up the Dardanelles. This was ostensibly to *protect* Turkey; yet such was the delay involved in the operation, that Russia might have bombarded and taken the capital long before one of our ships had come up, if it had depended on us to prevent it. But the Turks are brave, and the Russians know it.

England and France now clung to the hope of a hearty co-operation from Austria and Prussia, and a great amount of shuffling and intrigue went on, including the correspondence from Olmutz, where the Emperor of Austria met Nicholas, and was fascinated by the bland address and imposing power of his sublime protector.

October 22d, our Government were told by Austria to wait, in order to see the effect of reconciliation. This has become the watch-word of the war. From the first moment to the last we have been requested to *wait*, and not to *strike yet*, and the consequence has been disaster and ruin on the right hand and on the left. Alison says, "Time is everything in war," and we find the whole history of this war to be diplomatic procrastination, paralyzing the military operations, which, if decisive and energetic, would have settled the question speedily and finally.

Notwithstanding the influence of Lord Stratford, Turkey did declare war, and the oracles of the West prognosticated an immediate destruction of the Ottoman Empire. They have received their answer in the discomfiture of their friends the Muscovites at the siege of Silistria.

We shall henceforth have to trace, almost exclusively, the fatal encumbrance of Austrian influence, superadded to British cautiousness, in paralyzing this untoward war. On the 9th November, an urgent request was addressed by Austria to the British Government, that the Four Powers should collectively *demand* from Turkey the conclusion of an armistice with a view to negotiation. Lord Clarendon could not openly coincide with this, because the spirit of the British people was slightly roused, and the Ministry would have been exposed to a defeat if they had ostensibly thrown impediments in the way of Turkey; but he was ready to put a question with the Western Powers to the Porte, *i.e.*, on what terms it would recommence negotiations? Here is another attempt at diplomatic procrastination, entirely in favour of Russia. A Collective Note and Draft of Protocol is now forwarded to Vienna by Lord Clarendon and by France, signed December 4th, placing on record the general principles on which their common policy was founded. Thus we enter the never-ending war of words again, and we encounter the labyrinthine web of diplomatic intrigue, from which there seems no escape.

In this Protocol, the Four Powers bind themselves not to suffer any alteration in the existing territorial arrangements, or, in other words, to advocate the existing blockade of the Sulina Mouth by Russia, the oppression of Circassia, and the exclusive navigation of the Black Sea by Russian ships of war.

Whilst these absurd negotiations were pending, and Russia appeared disposed to give assent to them, and to show a more conciliatory spirit,

the pure and simple fireside-politicians of England were astonished to hear of the massacre of Sinope, in direct violation of the intimation of Russia that her operations were strictly defensive.

No blame, of course, attaches to the Christian ambassadors, admirals, or statesmen in this affair. They could not help it, though they kept back the *gros* of the Turkish fleet in the Bosphorus. They could not repair it, though they only sent a couple of steamers, with lint and surgeons, to save 100 wounded, some days after, and suffered the Russian fleet to sail back leisurely to Sebastopol without cutting it off, which they might have done. Yet they are called the representatives of the *Protecting Powers*!

Certain it is, and it has been admitted by Lord Stratford, that "your Lordship's instructions are positive as to the employment of Her Majesty's squadron for the protection of the Turkish territories against direct aggression, and in the event of the Russian fleet coming out of Sebastopol." Their excuse was that they did not hear of the event in time, and they throw the blame on the Porte and its officers.

The first intelligence of the disaster reached England, 12th December, in the shape of two lies, of Russian parentage. The Turkish fleet was said to have been pursued into Sinope, and to have been carrying troops to Soukhoum Kaleh, in Circassia, Lord Stratford wrote soon after to say that the squadrons would probably soon enter the Black Sea; yet the ships did not enter for many weeks, spending most of the winter comfortably in Beicos Bay. Here we have two instances in which the flag of England was backward. We sailed up to Constantinople, ostensibly to protect the Turkish territory from insult: we were answered at Sinope. After this we undertook to occupy the Black Sea, and we left it unoccupied most of the winter from our apprehension of squalls. Was this owing to the discretion of British seamen, or to instructions from home? The hearts of true patriots will give the right answer.

The British Government was little moved by the massacre of Sinope; but Louis Napoleon, having quicker blood, was much outraged, and threatened to adopt violent measures alone, if he could not shake the British Ministry out of its lethargy. In consequence of the urgency of the French Government, it was resolved to occupy the Black Sea; and, on the 27th December, this was intimated to Count Nesselrode. This was done whilst the negotiation was still pending at Vienna; hence Russia must have erroneously imagined that the occupation of the Euxine, like the whole war, was only a pretence, to throw dust in the eyes of the people of England. Russia did not consider the occurrence a cause of war, for a very obvious reason, namely, because we allowed her to do as she pleased the whole winter, in removing troops from Circassia, &c., besides not interfering at Sinope. Here, as in so many other cases, we have proof-positive of the unpremeditated assistance rendered to Russia by the courtesy of our diplomacy.

While these matters were arranged, Lord Stratford frightened the Porte into another negotiation, notwithstanding the storm of fury excited among the Turks by the butchery of Sinope. This Note of the Turkish Grand Council had been come to before the arrival of the

Collective Note from Vienna, and the bases were founded, not on the suggested reply which was to accompany that document, but on a previous Note, drawn up by the British Government. These bases were, however, in all respects substantially the same. They were adopted at Vienna, and embodied in a new Protocol, 13th January. European diplomacy was naturally edified with this farther proof of Ottoman subservience in a time of great irritation; and the Coalition hoped still to appease Russia. But these proposals were not only set aside by the Czar; he also denied the right of Europe to intervene. In this case, his passion for a moment mastered his judgment, as he risked offending his best friends. Unfortunately they were above insult, and beneath dishonour.

The counter-bases proposed by Count Orloff, in February 1854, involved, as an irrevocable condition, the exclusive and direct negotiation between Russia and the Porte alone. This system would probably have been better for the Turks than the co-operation of Western diplomacy. A third Protocol came out, 2d February, condemning the demands of Russia; but there was much secret chicanery all this time, by which the Germans forwarded the interests of Russia by delaying the war; and it may be added here, once for all, that there has been an esoteric and an exoteric policy on the part of European diplomacy throughout the Eastern, and most other questions, for the last thirty years.

At length France and England summoned Russia to evacuate the Principalities, February 27th; the Declaration of War, as it has been called, which was made in a most unusual and friendly manner, ensued in March. Any unprejudiced person, who reads the diplomatic history of this question, must be convinced that it has been the anxious endeavour of the Coalition to spare and to conciliate Russia; and, since the declaration of war, and in that very act itself, the oldest and choicest friends could not have acted in a more courteous manner than Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston towards Nicholas. We have to dwell on two more subjects ere we dismiss the history of the diplomacy of the war: the first is, the coercion employed by Christian diplomacy to revolutionize the Porte; and the second, the fatal effects of procrastination involved in our expectation of Austrian alliance and co-operation.

With regard to the first point, it would be almost necessary to give a history of the Greek Revolution, and a description of the Greek race under Otho and the Sultan, in order to appreciate it. As our space will not suffer us to do justice to these extensive topics, we shall confine ourselves to a few striking points illustrative of the matter. We need not repeat what has been so often proved, first, that the Greek race is the smallest and the most abandoned in Turkey and the Levant; nor need we stop to show that in assisting them in throwing aside the legitimate authority of the Sultan, we cast them into the arms of Russia. The testimony of the best writers shows that the Greeks have been for ages an essentially corrupt and deceitful race; and facts connected with this war have shown that they will stoop to any crime and infamy to gratify their insatiate vanity and love of money. Such have been the people who have been the principal occasion of the present precarious state of Europe, and these are the

miscreants who have been the special favourites and foster-children of the German Bund and its coterie.

This is not the place to introduce the history of the invasion of Turkey by bands of Greeks, paid by Russia and encouraged by Otho, who was in a state of profound peace with the Porte. The best authorities have shown that every Greek, including the priests, has his price, and that the whole race are spies and Russian agents, including the beautiful but misguided Queen, who, like so many Germans, has the misfortune of being related to the Romanoff dynasty.

Western diplomacy, which is a compound of infatuation and ignorance, took advantage of the outrages perpetrated by the Greeks to coerce the Porte into making certain concessions to the Christians in Turkey, which they regard as a curse. As this matter is one of the strongest proofs of the evils resulting from a Christian Protectorate in Turkey, we must dwell on it a little longer.

First, the reader must recollect that members of the Greek Church in Turkey are not generally of the Greek race, but that 4,000,000 are Bulgarians, and most of the remaining part Bosnians or Arnauts. Many British statesmen, and several journals, wilfully or ignorantly disguised and distorted these facts, and attributed the incursion of bands of Greek robbers, paid by Russia, to the oppression of the Greek Christians, of whatever race, in Turkey. Yet this was so far from being the case, that the Slavonian and Bulgarian members of the Greek Church detest and despise the men of Greek race, who enjoy the universal reputation of thieves and assassins. The consequence of the misapprehensions and misrepresentations of our statesmen and newspapers was, that injudicious reformers, taking advantage of the difficulties of Turkey, and of the presence of the British and French squadrons which were kept at Beicos Bay, instead of entering the Black Sea, used, or rather abused, its influence to coerce the Porte into a domestic revolution, as fatal to the Christians as the Turks.

This extraordinary blunder was qualified by the name of a Treaty of Alliance between England, France, and Turkey, guaranteeing equal rights to Christians in Turkey, in return for the assistance of the Western Powers, which the Porte did not require, and which was used at the time as a means of coercion. This instrument consists of thirty-seven paragraphs, of which three relate to the treatment of the Christians by the Porte, one of the most important of which is that which extends the Conscription to Rajas as well as Turks, removing the *haratch*, or capitation-tax. So great is the ignorance about Turkey in England, that many, if not most writers, have committed the mistake of calling the *haratch* a curse, whereas the Rajas have long looked upon it as a blessing, as protecting them, by paying a slight tax, against the distressing consequences of the Conscription, which has been so hateful to the Mussulmans. Hence the extension of equal rights, or of the Conscription to the Rajas, is most odious to them, and the majority of the Christians in Turkey are far from thankful for the favours obtained for them by diplomatic chicanery. This specimen will suffice to show the effects of the coercion employed by the Western Powers in revolutionizing Turkey. We shall recur to the subject at a future page.

As regards the second point, it is equally painful and humiliating to English feeling. The old love of fair-play seems fast vanishing among us, and a system of chicanery is supplanting the straightforward chivalry of the past. Else how are we to answer for the delays and procrastinations that we have tolerated and advocated throughout the war, in deference to a doubtful coterie at Vienna, and a contemptible court at Berlin!

Conferences, Notes, and Protocols have descended like a shower in Vienna and Berlin, till people's minds are bewildered, and they begin to think that black must, after all, be white. A judicious distribution of orders and snuff-boxes goes a long way to silence or soothe a large class of facile politicians on the right bank of the Rhine; and the Great and Little Powers of Germany play fast and loose with England, and lead us from Scylla to Charybdis, whilst winter merges into summer, and summer into war. As matters have been conducted for the last twelve months, it may safely be affirmed that the interests of England have been more injured, and those of Russia have been more advanced, by the temporizing and vexatious neutrality of the German Courts, than could have resulted if they had joined hand and glove with their patron the Czar. As to Prussia, every Englishman feels her to be beneath contempt.

The refrain, that has wounded the ears of England and of heaven for many months, and that has commonly emanated from Berlin, the metropolis of duplicity and baseness, is of the following nature:—*“Baron Manteuffel has received the official answer of Russia to the proposal to commence negotiations upon the basis stipulated by the Western Powers. Russia unequivocally declines to accept the conditions. She will maintain the defensive.”* This song is repeated; and the summer, our money, and honour, are wasted on these Berlin negotiations, whose only object has been to ruin our cause by procrastination. Prussia requires another Jena, and until she receives it, she will not listen to reason or to duty. It is not improbable that M. de Budberg¹ may have embraced Baron Manteuffel,² as Prince Alexander Gortschakoff³ is said to have embraced Count Buol.⁴ These evolutions are important aids to Russian diplomacy, and we have heard of other betrayals by a kiss, in connection with holier times and more exalted characters.

It was once the boast and the principle of this country, that whilst others talked, we acted. We always preferred practice to professions in the past. Another system has been introduced by diplomacy, and threatens to demoralize the nations. Hollow pretences are to supplant gallant deeds, base falsehoods are to take the place of honourable engagements, and the prowess of our forefathers is to evaporate amidst a paper war.

¹ Russian Envoy at Berlin.

² The Prussian Prime Minister.

³ Russian Envoy at Vienna.

⁴ The Austrian Premier.

CHAPTER II.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE WAR IN EUROPEAN TURKEY AND GREECE.

It is with some relief that we cast aside the vacillation of Protocols and Conferences, and betake ourselves to the tented field, where, though we may meet stern realities and severe hardships, we are spared the intricacy of Machiavellian intrigues. Yet, even here, we trace the effects of German neutrality.

The history of the war involves two matters: first, a detail of facts as they occurred; secondly, a statement of what ought to have been done, and has been neglected. This implies a charge of dishonesty against some of the German Powers, and the sequel will substantiate it.

But before we pass to a chronicle of events, we cannot omit to point out the immediate and important connection between strategy and diplomacy. It is evident that a bold stroke in the Baltic and Black Sea would intimidate the temporizing Government of Prussia, and force her to declare herself. The easy capture of Bomarsund has proved what might be effected in the Baltic, if the Admiralty sent ships not drawing too much water, and if it did not discountenance decisive operations; and the loss of men by cholera at Varna, has also proved that it was not in order to save the lives and money of Englishmen, but a necessary or untoward procrastination, that has delayed military operations in the East till the autumn. We shall revert to this matter at a later date, and show the direct influence of Prussian intrigue.

In treating of the war, we begin with Russia and Turkey, and pass to England and France. To every man of sense, it will be evident that the war commenced with the violence and outrage committed by Russia in crossing the Pruth, on the 4th of June 1853. The Czar professed to step in for the purpose of obtaining material guarantees, binding the Turks to submit to his unjust and unwarrantable demands. This was adding injury to insult. All Turkey was aroused, and the Government, had it been uninfluenced, would probably have appealed at once to arms, and, by showing a bold front, and the courage of Silistria, might perhaps have checked the war at the outset. This did not suit the pacific intentions of British diplomacy, which induced the Porte to submit to the entrance of the Muscovites.

The Russian army was suffered to enter Moldavia unopposed, and quietly took the administration of the Principality out of the hands of Prince Gregory Ghika, who went through the masquerade of handing over his authority to a Council, presided over by Russian generals. The natural and eventual result was the sequestration of the state fund, to the profit of Russia. This was followed up in 1854 by Nesselrode's despatch, which virtually incorporates the Principa-

lities in Russia. These acts were repeated in the case of Wallachia, and thus the Czar opened the contest by a series of unprovoked outrages, in a time of profound peace.

The Russians marched into Wallachia in August, Prince Stirbey resigned the Government and retired to Vienna, and Prince Gortschakoff ruled the Principality with despotic authority. It is almost superfluous to add, that the resignation of the two princes, Ghika and Stirbey, was compulsory and illegal, and that the Porte protested against it. One act of violence succeeded another: plenipotentiaries were appointed in November to govern the country, which has been utterly ruined by Russian extortion, and the unhappy army was incorporated into that of Russia, against the wish of its members.

But the time was approaching when Ottoman endurance became exhausted: subscriptions were raised, volunteers were embodied, a burst of enthusiasm electrified the Empire, and, at all risks, Turkey prepared for war. In anticipation of the coming struggle, it cast its eyes on its ablest captain, and one of the most remarkable men of modern times. Omar Pacha was appointed to command the army of the Danube, and claims a short biography at our hands.

Omar Pacha, Mushir (Field-Marshal) of the Turkish Danubian army, is an Austrian Slavonian by birth, his name being Lattas, and he was born at Plaski in 1811. He attended a mathematical school at Thurn, near Carlstädt; and on leaving it, entered an Austrian regiment as Cadet, but deserted to Zara, in Bosnia, in consequence of some dispute. He now became a Mohammedan, and a tutor in a Turkish family; but he soon rose into notice, and was appointed Secretary of Abdul-Medjid, before that prince's accession. He was also promoted to the rank of Captain in the Turkish service. On the accession of his pupil, he was appointed Colonel, and served in Syria in 1840. He was then made a Brigadier, and soon after served in Albania, 1843, against the rebel Dschulika. His operations were successful, and he rose in the favour of his Imperial master till 1846, when he subdued a rebellion of the Kurds. He occupied the Principalities, conjointly with the Russians, from 1848 to 1850; in 1850 and 1851, he subdued an insurrection in Bosnia;¹ and in 1853, he commanded the expedition against Montenegro. In all these appointments, he showed consummate skill and cool bravery: he displays a remarkable combination of prudence and decision, and he conciliates both Mussulmans and Christians by his liberality. He is described as a man of martial and gallant appearance, without a shadow of arrogance or superciliousness, and as having most agreeable and courteous manners. It is but fair to add, that hitherto he has been the hero of the war.

The autumn was passed in active preparations on both banks of the Danube, and in tedious intrigues at Constantinople and Vienna. The Porte had protested against the Russian invasion on the 14th July, but its hands had been tied by diplomacy the whole summer. At length, September 26th, the Divan resolved to cast off dictation and coercion, and to declare war; and on the 19th of October, Omar

¹ The author of "Frontier Lands of the Christian and Turk," gives an excellent description of the operations of Omar Pacha against the Bosnian rebels.

Pacha received orders to summon Prince Gortschakoff to evacuate the Danubian Principalities within fifteen days.

Operations commenced, October 23d, without the knowledge of Omar Pacha, at Isaktscha, on the Danube. The outbreak was occasioned by the attempt of the Russian flotilla to sail up from Ismail to Galatz, which the Turks endeavoured to prevent by a cannonade that lasted one hour and a half, and during which, the town of Isaktscha was set on fire, and partially burnt. The flotilla lost twelve men killed, including one captain, and their vessels were much injured; but the Russians succeeded in reaching their destination. Though many trifling skirmishes occurred towards the end of October, it was not till the beginning of November that the antagonists closed in earnest. We shall relate the campaign in Asia by itself.

A body of Turks had crossed the Danube, to Oltenitza, a large village in Wallachia, facing Turtukai, and had occupied and fortified the old quarantine building, commanded by Halil and Mustapha Pachas. They only amounted to 4000 men, but they were defended by eighteen gun-boats, and assisted by the fire from the artillery of Turtukai, across the Danube, which is narrower than elsewhere at that place. On the morning of November 4th, the Russians, mustering 8000 strong (two infantry and one cavalry regiment of the 4th corps), under General Pauloff, attacked the Turkish intrenchments. General Dannenberg, Commander of the 4th corps, superintended the operations from a height near Oltenitza. A Russian battery was skilfully posted, and its fire appeared to be well directed, but the Turkish artillery was admirably served, and replied gallantly from the intrenchments, from an island, and from the right bank. The Russians meanwhile occupied both sides of the village, brought up twenty-six pieces of cannon, and attacked the Turkish works at one P.M. The Osmanlis retired at first, and the Russians advanced with loud hurrahs, but the former soon faced about, and offered a most stubborn resistance. They suffered the Muscovites to approach quietly, and then delivered their fire, without wasting a shot. The Russian infantry was forced to retire rapidly under shelter, whilst their artillery continued to thunder away in the distance. In the intervening space, the ground appeared strewn with masses of slain Muscovites, almost all of whose field-officers were *hors de combat*.

Nor did the Turks give them any respite, as their artillery continued to pour a shower of destructive missiles into the ranks of the flying infantry, materially increasing the carnage. The Russians found their only safety in a general and precipitate flight, which was hailed with shouts of triumph on the part of the Turks, who ceased firing about five o'clock in the afternoon. The Russians were now suffered to carry off their dead, which amounted to 1400, whilst they reckoned 400 wounded.¹

The hereditary foes had at length met in mortal conflict, and, to the surprise and confusion of certain German professors, the degenerate Turks, though outnumbered, had signally defeated their antagonists.

¹ Patrick O'Brian gives an account of the engagement at Oltenitza, which he witnessed.

Whilst the attention of the Russians was concentrated on Oltenitza, Omar Pacha profited by this favourable opportunity to throw a body of troops across the Danube, from Widdin to Kalafat, which he began to surround with formidable works. This operation was not effected without stern opposition on the part of the Muscovites, but the Turks succeeded ultimately in making good their footing on the left bank, and throwing up their intrenchments amidst the continual skirmishing of their opponents.

Thus far the operations of the war on the Danube had been eminently favourable to the Turks, and had already sufficed to show that certain persons of distinction and popularity had been grossly mistaken, in their eloquent periods, respecting the decrepitude of the Ottoman Empire.

After the first successful strokes on the part of the Turks, both parties seem to have remained quiet for a season, watching each other carefully, and occasionally skirmishing at the outposts. Oltenitza was abandoned by Omar Pacha on the 13th November, after he had blown up its fortifications; and the Turks appear to have been ordered to await the issue of further negotiations at Vienna, whilst the Czar pledged himself to remain strictly on the defensive, till those negotiations were concluded. But the procrastination of diplomacy has always been fatal to every Power, save Russia, and the loyalty of the Czar has for some time appeared rather questionable.

Whilst the Christian Powers were wasting irrecoverable time in chicanery at Vienna, a deed of villany and cowardice was perpetrated, with the sanction of the Czar, in defiance of his word, and of all laws, human and divine. All Europe, save a small cabal, were astounded and outraged at the intelligence of a massacre, whose horrors cast into the shade most of the basest and most colossal crimes recorded in history. The Russian Government are, however, unscrupulous, and the diplomatic body was foiled in its anticipations of peace.¹

We shudder as we sit down to describe this tragedy. The pen almost drops from our hands as we record the crimes of a nation and a Government professing to perpetrate its deeds of darkness in the name of the religion of Universal Love. Nor is our distress diminished by the consideration that the instructions, or scruples of a British Minister and Admiral, were the unintentional occasion of the disaster, and that they lost the opportunity of avenging and repairing it.

But we must commence our painful theme, and relate how a small Turkish squadron lay moored in the port of the ancient and classical Sinope, on the 18th November 1853. This squadron consisted of seven frigates, three corvettes, three steamers, and three transports, with 433 guns and 4660 men, and had been engaged in transporting land forces to Batoum,² whence it was returning to the Bosphorus, where

¹ The battle of Sinope falls, strictly speaking, under the head of "Operations in Asia," but we are obliged to describe it here in order to preserve a proper connection in the events of the war.

² An eminent statesman, with his usual veracity, has affirmed, in vindication of Russia, that the Turkish squadron had been conveying troops to Circassia, an *integral part* of Russia. It requires the penetration of diplomatists to fabricate such ingenious equivocations.

stress of weather drove it to seek shelter at Sinope. It was obviously imprudent to expose such a small force in front of Sebastopol, and the blame of this, like that of every other error of the war, has been cast on the Turks, whereas it lies, perhaps, at the door of an over-scrupulous diplomacy. It is now affirmed that the Turks wished the whole fleet to sail into the Black Sea, instead of this weak squadron, and that this prudential measure was defeated by the interference of certain influential persons.

This forms a parallel to a recent instance of coercion on the part of an eminent statesman, recorded by the *Morning Chronicle*, when that diplomatist is represented as having directed that the Mushir of the Turkish armies in Asia should avoid active operations, however promising. The consequence has been two defeats of the Turks, and the occupation of Bayazid by the Russians.¹

Reverting to Sinope, we find that the Russian authorities at Sebastopol were, as usual, thoroughly informed of the movements of the Turkish squadron by our friends the Greeks. The gallantry of the Russians on this memorable occasion was displayed in the circumstance that the Russian Admiral, Nachimoff, who reconnoitred the Turkish squadron, delayed his attack, and sent for reinforcements from Sebastopol, because, though already outnumbering the Ottomans, he did not deem it prudent to attack them without an overwhelming superiority. It was only after the arrival of "The Twelve Apostles," and other holy engines of destruction, armed with Paixhans, that the Muscovite ventured his onslaught.

Austrian accounts state that Admiral Korniloff commanded six ships of the line and eight smaller vessels in the Euxine, and that he sent in his first division under Nachimoff, who, under cover of a fog, attacked the Turkish squadron at anchor in the Bay of Sinope. The *Mary*, which was the Admiral's ship, came up first, and opened the attack, and was joined by the two other line-of-battle ships, together with numerous frigates, steamers, &c.

Notwithstanding the extreme disproportion of the forces, the Turks, instead of yielding to their cowardly assailants, fought with desperate courage, till almost every ship had blown up or gone to the bottom, and most of the 4000 men whom they contained, had perished, noble martyrs in the cause of their faith and country, and victims to the misapprehensions of certain cabinets. The blood of these unhappy creatures, like the dying agony of the thousands perishing on the pestilential shores of Varna in 1854, lies heavy on the conscience of the Emperor of Russia.

The engagement lasted three hours, and terminated in the entire destruction of the Turkish squadron, which was literally crushed by the broadsides of the colossal Russian line-of-battle ships; and this destruction of a squadron of frigates by an overpowering force was represented as a glorious triumph, and celebrated by *Te Deums* at St. Petersburg. But such is the character of the Romanoff dynasty.

One single vessel, the *Taif* steamer, escaped to the Bosphorus, whilst seven frigates, three corvettes, two steamers, and three transports, were either burned, blown up, or sunk. Admiral Osman Pacha,

¹ Part iv., chap. 3.

who lost a leg at Sebastopol, and Ali Mahir Pacha, were taken prisoners, with 150 Turks. The remainder of the 4155 men met the death of heroes, save 450 who reached Constantinople. The corpse of the Turkish Rear-Admiral was found, and buried with all honour. Ali Bey, the captain of a frigate, had blown up his own ship in the action, and most of the officers in the Turkish squadron shared the same fate.

The Turkish part of the town of Sinope was bombarded and burned by the Russians during the engagement, but the Greek portion was spared, as the Muscovites had learned to appreciate the value of Hellenic treachery. This battle consisted chiefly of one incessant shower of red-hot shot and shells, poured from the Paixhans and Russian broadsides, which occasioned a damage of 10,000,000 florins, and actually stove in the sides of some of the Turkish ships. During this operation, the Russians scarcely encountered any danger, though their ships suffered considerably from the resolute resistance of the Turks.

After the butchery was finished, the Russian Admiral reposed leisurely at Sinope, for he knew that his friends the diplomatists were watching over him, like guardian angels, at Vienna and Berlin; and when he had repaired damages, he lounged across the Euxine, on his return to the Crimea. Ample time was given to the British fleet to have intercepted them, but it was detained in the Bosphorus.

So long as history shall live, the disgrace of this matchless massacre will be equally divided between Russian cowardice and diplomacy. The trump of fame will announce to the latest posterity that a British Envoy and Admiral, on hearing of the merciless carnage, despatched two steam-frigates with surgeons and lint for the wounded! They brought back about 100, whilst Nachimoff and his crew of heroes were indolently sailing back to Sebastopol.

We have heard of sins and follies in the past, and history is full of tragedies and outrages, but such an inhuman massacre exceeds the common measure of mortal transgression, and the usual stature of human baseness. It was reserved for this age to report horrors that we hoped had disappeared for ever.

When the intelligence of the massacre of Sinope reached Paris, Louis Napoleon flew into a storm of passion, and threatened to break with his allies if they did not sanction more decisive measures. Downing Street was more calm and resigned on the receipt of the news; but the Coalition, not wishing to alienate the Emperor of France, made a show of more vigorous measures.

Hence the Ambassador was allowed to send the fleet into the Black Sea, and the fact was politely intimated at St. Petersburg, but the fleet did not enter the Euxine till a month later; it was soon driven in again by heavy gales, and it remained two months at Beicos Bay for want of coal, and for the purpose of reconciling the Turkish opposition to the reforms introduced into Turkey by the *Protecting Powers*.

Whilst our fleet was engaged in this service, Russian squadrons visited the coast of Circassia and the mouth of the Danube. But the Emperor of Russia was undoubtedly informed that we were not very resolute, and hence he did not consider it a *casus belli*.

Christendom had not recovered from the shock it experienced on receiving intelligence of the massacre of Sinope, when the detractors of Turkish energy and valour were stupified to hear that the Muscovites had been defeated again, in a pitched battle on land, by their hereditary rivals. The news was long doubted, and continually misrepresented. It could not be true that the indolent and sleepy Ottomans, who were generally regarded as in the last stage of decrepitude, could have boldly encountered and signally defeated a superior corps of disciplined Russian troops, commanded by a General of experience and ability. There was no doubt some mistake, and more accurate accounts would show that the Turks, as had long been anticipated, were unable to resist the attack of disciplined European troops in the open field.

But these fond anticipations were doomed to be soon disappointed. More certain intelligence reached the West, and confirmed the total defeat of the Russians. The *sick* man had become suddenly sound.

As this engagement, like the siege of Silistria, is a powerful argument in favour of the vitality of Turkey, it appears desirable to present a somewhat detailed account of its accidents.

Ever since Omar Pacha had occupied Kalafat, in the beginning of November 1853, the Turks had left no stone unturned in converting that *tête du pont* into a most formidable position. Works of tremendous magnitude and strength had been thrown up, a powerful garrison had been assembled at Widdin, under Sami Pacha, and at Kalafat under Achmet Pacha, and Omar Pacha was often on the spot to superintend operations.

Meanwhile the Russians had never been idle. Little Wallachia was swarming with Muscovite troops, whose outposts and pickets secured the left bank of the Danube, and threatened an invasion of Servia, whilst they engaged in frequent skirmishes with the Turkish patriots near Kalafat.

The movements of the Russians had become more ominous and threatening from day to day, and the newspaper correspondents anticipated, as at Silistria, the speedy fall of the fortress. But, like most Englishmen, they did not know the Turks, who, in the open field as well as behind battered outworks, are perhaps the best troops in Europe.

It was on the 5th of January 1854, in the midst of a severe and trying winter, that the Turks left Kalafat, shortly before sunset, and, passing the night in the village of Moglavit and its neighbourhood, reached Citate by daybreak. The despatch of Omar Pacha represents the Turkish force as consisting of eleven battalions of infantry, twenty-two field-pieces, and three regiments of cavalry, including 450 irregulars, all under the command of Achmet Pacha. The Russian force opposed to them consisted of fifteen battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry, besides two squadrons of the Paskewitsch hussars, and five squadrons of Cossacks, under General Anrep, an officer of German extraction, and a favourite of Nicholas, who had served with some distinction in the Caucasus and in Hungary. To maintain their communication with the outposts at Citate, three Russian battalions were thrown out as far as the village of Pojana. Citate was occupied by four Russian battalions, twelve guns, the

Paskewitsch hussars, and the Cossacks, and they had thrown up a redoubt behind the village. The attack on the village was made by six battalions of Turkish infantry, twelve guns, and two cavalry regiments, under Ismail Pacha. The remainder of the Turkish force, consisting of five battalions, ten guns, and one cavalry regiment, under Mustapha Pacha, were drawn up in front of the village. After an obstinate engagement, which lasted three hours, the enemy was completely dislodged from the village. The streets were full of dead, half a Russian battalion was surrounded and put to the sword, and scarcely 600 men escaped from the whole regiment. To estimate the severity of this loss, the reader must recollect that a Russian regiment is composed of four battalions, each reckoning 1000 men. Somewhat previous to these occurrences, the Russian cavalry had been overthrown at the first shock by the Turkish troopers.

Whilst the Sultan's troops were engaged in storming this village, another Russian division, consisting of nine battalions of infantry, sixteen guns, and two cavalry regiments, attacked the Turkish reserve drawn up before the village, and committed the error of attempting to attack them in rear instead of at the right flank. Omar Pacha attributes their defeat to this circumstance, because the Turkish troops, profiting by the advantages of the ground, made a change of front, leaning on the village and covering their rear. The combat lasted an hour and a half at this spot. At the very commencement of the action, the Turkish artillery was so well directed, that it silenced the Russian guns and drove them beyond gun-shot. Such was the cool impassibility of the Ottoman troops, that the Russian attempt to fall on their rear was only disastrous to the latter; the well-nourished fire of the Ottoman infantry, supported by a shower of canister, was delivered with such deadly effect in the enemy's ranks, that the enemy, who was forced to retire, pursued by their antagonists, soon sought refuge in flight!

If the days at that season had not been so short, and if the Turkish battalions had been less fatigued by their long march, the enemy would have suffered a total rout. The Turkish loss was estimated by Omar Pacha at 300 killed, 700 wounded, including Ismail Pacha, Mustapha Pacha, three colonels, and five chiefs of battalions. The most accurate accounts represent the Russian loss as amounting to 3000 men, including four colonels, three chiefs of battalions, and at least sixty commissioned officers. The number of wounded must have been very great, as 200 waggons, each containing four or five, drove off to Krajova and Slatina, without reckoning those slightly wounded who went on foot to Krajova. General Orloff, two colonels, and seven chiefs of battalions, were wounded, and one colonel was missing.

Among the trophies captured by the Turks, we may enumerate three waggons of ammunition, with a great quantity of luggage, 500 firelocks, sixty officers' swords, and 500 horses, mostly wounded. Many St. George's orders were seen soon after decorating the breasts of Turkish soldiers. General Orloff was soon after reported to have died of his wounds, but officers of this name appear unfortunately to have the gift of immortality. The Ottoman troops not being provided with escalading ladders, had been prevented from attempting

to storm the redoubt; but the Russians, who anticipated an attack, took to flight and deserted it, seeking refuge in a neighbouring wood.

After resting three hours, the Turks returned to Kalafat, and buried their dead at Widdin. The Ottoman troops gave no quarter to the Russians in this action, which accounts for the vigorous defence of the redoubt by the latter. The report of Omar Pacha has been substantiated by good authorities, and the Russians themselves have admitted that they suffered a defeat at Citate. General Anrep was removed from his command in consequence of the disaster, and the Russian troops were withdrawn to Radowan to await for reinforcements, after whose arrival they resumed their former position. But it is probable that this specimen of Turkish energy was a principal cause in deterring them from making their threatened assault on Kalafat.

We have been thus minute about Citate, because we regard it as a most important action. In the first place, the Turks defeated a superior Russian force in the open field; secondly, they were commanded by Ottoman officers; thirdly, their cavalry overthrew the Russian; fourthly, their artillery silenced that of the Muscovites; fifthly, their infantry made a change of front under fire, and answered the enemy in the coolest manner, when threatened in rear. Hence the Turks showed their superiority to the Russians in tactics as well as in courage, and demolished all the fallacies that have attempted to establish their inability to meet the best European troops in the open field.

These are important conclusions, as they prove that the reasonings of many noble Lords, of Mr. Cobden, and of Nicholas, about the decay of the sick man, are unfounded.

The Russians maintained their menacing attitude till the spring, but they made no attempts to attack Kalafat or Widdin, their first blow being aimed in the direction of Rustchuk, when they endeavoured to cross the Danube at Giurgevo in the beginning of February 1854. Halil Pacha, the Commanding-Officer at Rustchuk, was a man of great energy and decision, and opposed a determined resistance to the advances of the Muscovites. Nor did he remain merely on the defensive, for he landed on the 3d of February with 1000 Albanians and Nizam, near Giurgevo and Slobosia, and commenced a sanguinary engagement, which lasted from daybreak to two P.M., and in which the Russians, under General Soimonoff, lost 160 dead and many wounded. Lieutenant-Colonel Werestchinko, and two other Muscovite officers, were amongst the slain. The Turks lost only twenty-six men, and returned to the right bank of the Danube. The chief of battalion, Mehemet Aga, particularly distinguished himself in a fight that lasted three hours on this occasion, in an island of the Danube.

The above may serve as an example of repeated and perpetual skirmishes that took place throughout the spring and summer till the defeat of the Russians at Silistria. The vicinity of Rustchuk was especially favoured in this respect, and the Turks maintained their usual superiority in most of the engagements.

Very severe skirmishes occurred at this place on the 5th, 9th, and 10th of February; and during the night of the 8th, General Schil-

ders is said to have erected a battery of twelve guns, which inflicted considerable damage on the Turkish flotilla. The cannonade was kept up on both sides with great animation, and serious losses must have been inflicted on both sides, but without any satisfactory result to the Russians.

But whilst these occurrences were transpiring on the Danube, a dangerous conspiracy had been hatching in the heart of the Ottoman Empire, fomented by Russian intrigue. When Prince Mentschikoff visited Constantinople with his imperious demands in 1853, he was accompanied by a staff of superior officers, several of whom were kindly allowed by him to visit Athens and the court of King Otho, in order to investigate Greek antiquities. Uncourteous reports have since been spread respecting the nature of their mission, but as we know that Russian employes are seldom men of deep and designing character, we must in charity believe that they went there to read inscriptions, and poke over ruins. It has indeed been affirmed, that not only were these men Russian agents in disguise, employed in inciting the Greek Court to share in the good work of overthrowing Turkey, but that multitudes of Greek ecclesiastics had visited the convents of Mount Athos, and other parts of European Turkey, the bearers of handsome gifts from the Czar, with a secret and special object.

Though Russian nobles have informed us,¹ that the whole of Greece is sold to Russia, and that all its clergy are Muscovite spies and agents, we must of course deny the charge, because we learned at school that Aristides and Epaminondas were natives of that country, and because our professors had voted the modern Greeks a race of heroes; nor shall we be cured of our infatuation till we hear of the assassination of Lord Raglan, the Duke of Cambridge, or the destruction of our fleet by Greek treachery.

The war has shown us nothing but examples of ingratitude and villany in that race of miscreants. Conspiracies have been formed at Constantinople to destroy the Allies; piracy has been sanctioned and supported by them in the Levant; the Tiger was run aground by a Greek pilot on purpose; the magazines of Varna were burnt by Greek incendiaries;—in short, in every calamity of any magnitude that befalls us in the East, Greek treachery is always one of the most efficient causes, after German diplomacy.

Under these circumstances, it was natural that the Greeks should willingly listen to the suggestions of the antiquaries of Mentschikoff. Murder, robbery, and incendiarism, were plotted on the Parthenon, and in the Lantern of Demosthenes. The Court of Otho pledged itself to secret support of the designs of Nicholas, at the time that Mentschikoff and Brunow declared they only applied to the Porte to adjust the matters of the Holy Places.

In European Turkey, the offers of Nicholas had been mostly declined. The Bulgarians had learned to value Russian professions and Turkish practice, and the Thessalians were a happy and contented people, inhabiting a rich and delightful country,² and adverse to any change.

¹ Golovin. "The Nations of Russia and Turkey," vol.

² Urquhart's "War of Ignorance. 1854."

As for Servia, though a hotbed of intrigue and Panslavonic propaganda, the gallant Serbs had obtained too just an appreciation of Austria and Russia to desire a more familiar acquaintance with either.

It was necessary to mask the designs of the Greek Court under a specious exterior, and observe great circumspection in its proceedings. The *Hetairiai*, or secret societies, advocating a restoration of the Byzantine Empire by 2,000,000 dastard Greeks, were very active, and encouraged by Otho's Government. The first outbreak occurred in Epirus, forming the Turkish Pachalik of Skodra or Scutari, Janina, and Monastir. It is proper to bear in mind, in connection with this fact, that very few of these insurgents were Romaic Greeks, being chiefly Arnauts, and principally excited to mutiny, as usual, by their opposition to the Conscription, which they hate, and which injudicious reformers were trying to extend to them as a special favour, under the head of equal rights.

The immediate occasion of the outbreak, which has been greatly exaggerated, is attributed to a riot at Avlona, during the market of the 27th of January 1854. The following day, the Primates of the large village of Radovizi flew to arms, and issued proclamations, complaining of the great pressure of taxes, which are so trifling in that country, that an Englishman would probably object to their moderation. Soon after this, an engagement is said to have occurred in the Gulf of Arta between a Turkish guard-ship and a royal Greek cutter, in which the former is said to have been sunk; but this account is doubtful, as Greeks are rather addicted to exaggerate their own exploits.

At the commencement of February, 500 men were under arms, mostly paid by agents of Otho, and commanded by N. Botzaris, N. Zervas, and Sotiri-Stratos. On the 4th, Theodore Grivas and Spiridion Karaikakis of Carvassaro, issued a new appeal. The people of the districts of Aspropotamos, Laka, Karia, Burgarelli, a very mixed Albanian population, joined the movement; some villages and convents were taken, the town of Arta was occupied, and a detachment of Turks was said to have been defeated by Œkonomos at Migarime. The insurgent army is represented as having increased to 2000 men, including two companies of Otho's regular army under General Rangos. But the Turks did not remain inactive. The Dervent, or border Aga, Phrassari, and his Lieutenant, Tzelio-Pitzoris, led at first 700 men against the insurgents. The Vizier, Hafiz Pacha of Janina, proclaimed martial law in Eastern Albania. But the insurrection, after it had continued a whole month, had effected very little, and was discountenanced by the bulk of the population, who generally found the insurgents to be a band of plunderers, and the Turks their protectors. On the 28th of February, 1300 Turks still maintained their position in the citadel of Arta, and the ex-lieutenant Karaikakis had repeatedly failed in his attempts to storm it. The loss of the insurgents continued to be considerable, and their courage declined daily.

In the beginning of March, the ex-governor of Monastir, Bessim Pacha, was appointed Governor of Janina, and Vizier of all the disposable forces in the western scene of the war. According to other

reports, it was Zeinel Pacha who marched against the insurgents from Salonichi. Trikala, a village of 300 houses, near Janina, was plundered by the Turks, and the inhabitants of Volo, Larissa, and Jentschcher (a town of 25,000 inhabitants), fled into the mountains. On the 9th March, three steamers arrived, and landed 2500 Turks at Prevesa.

Meanwhile, a certain party in England, and its organs, made use of this disgraceful mutiny—the creation of Russian gold and intrigue—to repeat the old lamentations about the oppression of the Christians, and to force the Porte to give them their rights, *i. e.*, to admit them to the Conscription, a most odious measure to the Rajas themselves. It has been asserted, that for this purpose, the Allied fleets were kept in the Bosphorus throughout the winter, instead of being suffered to clear the coast of Circassia.

Soon after this, the Porte, with its usual discrimination, detected the complicity of Otho's Government in the insurrection, and determined to break with the Greek Government, sorely against the wishes of the German embassies. The Greek Minister was dismissed, and all Greek subjects were required to clear out within a given time, and the Porte threatened severe measures against the native Greeks at Constantinople, when it discovered wide-spread conspiracies in the metropolis, fomented by Russian agents. We must here remind the reader that, since November 1853, M. de la Cour, the French Minister at Stamboul, had been replaced by General, now Marshal, Baraguay d'Hilliers, who, though a brave soldier, appears to have been very unfit for that post, by his ruthless and imperious manners and narrow prejudices. When the Porte, as a measure of precaution, ordered the expulsion of all Hellenic subjects, Baraguay interfered, in an illiberal manner, in favour of a sect of Christians of the Latin Church; and exhibited on this occasion a haughtiness, bigotry, and violence, not unworthy of Mentschikoff. It is even said that he caused his baggage to be packed up, and threatened to leave the capital with his suite, if his demands were not complied with immediately.

Lord Stratford offered his services as mediator, and succeeded in inducing the Porte to yield, and the French Minister to stay; but this fact alone is enough to show the evils which flow from the Capitulations, and the influence allowed to the Christian embassies by the Porte. It appears that it was in consequence of these injudicious steps that the Imperial Government of France recalled Baraguay, and appointed him to the more congenial post of Commander of the army of the Baltic.

It is evident that we shall be unable to give all the details connected with the Greek Insurrection, but the following illustrations from eye-witnesses will prove of interest to the reader, and corroborate what has been advanced.

On the 18th of April, a letter from Syra described that, “in spite of the dismissal of the Greek Minister at Constantinople, and of the Consuls and Hellenic subjects from the Empire (for whom a delay of fifteen days has been granted, as also for the ships, to quit the Ottoman territory), these rigorous measures have not taught a lesson to that petty kingdom. Its people continue, as before, to send rein-

forcements in men and arms to the brigands of Thessaly and Epirus, who continue to cross the frontiers. As you may well imagine, all those men who continue to support that brigandage belong to the worst class, and only think of pillage and devastation, as has been already proved by the excesses of every kind which they have committed, not against the Mussulmans, whom they say they go to combat, but against those who profess their creed. It is, in fact, a brigandage on a large scale, and at the head of it are the Greek Government, who pretend they cannot prevent it. When the Greek bands had only to do with isolated detachments, they succeeded in pillaging some villages; but since they have encountered corps of regular troops, they are invariably beaten, and obliged to fly to the mountains. In an affair which took place at Caryoti, near Volo, the Imperial troops killed 300 of them, without counting the wounded, the number of whom is unknown. This you may depend upon as official. Near Janina, at Mezzovo, and Arta, the Greek bandits have had serious losses, which have made them much less boastful, without, however, diminishing their thirst for plunder. * * *

“King Otho continues to disregard the prudent advice given him by the representatives of the Four Powers. He firmly believes that he is destined to liberate the Christians from the Ottoman rule. * * * He not only disdains to listen to us, but regards us as his enemies.

“The Circular of Count Nesselrode has produced on the minds of the Greeks the effect that might have been anticipated. Their religious fanaticism is roused in all its force, and their dream now is the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, with the aid of that Power to which they are devoted, body and soul. Such is the gratitude of the Greeks to the Western Powers, who procured for them their independence, and who wished to make the petty kingdom of Greece a rampart against the Muscovite Power. The Governments of England and France will learn, when too late, how deceived they have been in the Greek character, and how, in forming a Greek kingdom, they were only working for the advantage of Russia.”¹

The same letter announced that the French war-steamer *Heron* had stopped, near Chalcis, a Greek vessel, having 205 barrels of powder and 120 boxes of cartridges, which were taken on board at Nauplia, on their way to Zornia, to be forwarded to the Greek bands in Thessaly and Epirus. The Greek captain threw the cargo overboard when stopped. This energetic act irritated the Greek Government immensely; and the population of Athens, excited by M. Soutzo, Minister of War, with his adherents belonging to the Russian party, meditated acts of violence against French and English residents, but were deterred by a decisive note from the two Ministers of these nations.

Already, armed bands of from 150 to 200 traversed the country,

¹ “Well might the Duke of Wellington designate the battle of Navarino by the courteous expression of the ‘untoward event.’ The whole of the proceedings of that period were little creditable to our diplomatists, but were a real triumph to those of Russia, who played off the mutual jealousies of France and England in such a manner as to lead them to exhaust their blood and treasure to forward her exclusive interests. We are now feeling the effects of the blunder.”—*United Service Magazine*, July 1854, p. 413.

and Greece was on the verge of anarchy and civil war. "The Hellenes," added the *Times*' correspondent, "are on the point of paying dearly for their ungrateful and foolish conduct."

In consequence of this unpleasant state of things, M. Paikos, the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, issued a circular despatch to his diplomatic agents, containing a defence of the conduct of the Greek Government. This called forth a joint note from Mr. Udjse and Baron Rouen, the French and English Ministers at Athens.

Soon after this, intelligence arrived, announcing that Peta, the centre of the Greek Insurrection, had been taken on the 25th April by the Ottoman troops, commanded by Osman Pacha, after a combat of fifty minutes. The insurgents, who were 3000 in number, under the command of Tsavellas and Karaikakis, left 150 dead on the field of battle: the number of their wounded is not known. The loss of the Turks was five killed and twelve wounded. The Secretary of Tsavellas was amongst the slain. Fuad-Effendi himself, who was present at the action, gave these details to the Lord High Commissioner. The moral effect of this victory was anticipated as likely to be very great, as regards the submission of the country.¹

It was not long before their anticipations were corroborated; and a letter from the *Times*' own correspondent, dated Prevesa, published May 31st, and describing his visit to the disturbed districts, from the 2d to the 13th of May, gives fresh details of the satisfactory results that followed from the victory of Peta.

The first and immediate result was an offer of submission from nearly the whole of the Epirus up to the mountains of Suli. Mr. Saunders and the French Consular Agent at Prevesa resolved to start for Kanali, ten miles north of Prevesa, where a meeting was to be held between the Turks and insurgents; and on reaching that district, they found that the people seemed to have suffered incredibly. On one side, the wild Albanians of Djelil Aga, * * * on the other, the threats and exactions of the Greek liberators. * * * "It will seem to you nearly incredible, and I would not mention it if I had not heard it over and over repeated, that the Greeks were actually considered as the worst of the two. It was principally Tsavellas whom they detested. * * *

"They gave us some curious details concerning the manners and customs of their '*friends*,' the insurgents. They said, in one house, where there were three men quartered, they asked four sheep for dinner. This troop had asked and received 140 sheep when they came into Kamarina, but helped themselves, notwithstanding, so freely in everything inviting their palate, that I have not seen more than one lamb in my whole tour to Kamarina. * * * These people told us, the same as several letters found in Peta said, repeatedly,—namely, that they would soon have had to fight their friends."

The letter continued to announce the unresisted and simultaneous advance of the Turks, under Abdi Pacha and Fuad-Effendi, to Pen-tepegadia, or the Five Wells; and adds, "my opinion that the taking of Peta would be the death-stroke of the movement, is quite confirmed by all facts. The whole country, with the exception of

¹ *Times*, May 5, p. 9, 1854.

half a dozen villages in Suli, and the mountain fastnesses of Djumorka, have given in their submission. Even the villagers of Peta and Komboti have already come back from Greece, and sued for pardon, which has been granted. They stated that they had not only been robbed in Epirus, but also in Greece.

It appeared, however, that the Greeks of Otho were not discouraged yet, and another invasion was meditated. Wholesale desertion of Greek soldiers to join the movement was expected, but it was not thought likely to succeed, as the Turks had twelve battalions of regulars in Albania, two of which splendid troops had landed from Tripoli in Africa, under Basaktchi-Achmet Pacha, a daring officer.

Fuad-Effendi, the Turkish Commander, seems to have done everything in his power to make the animosity on both sides subside, granting amnesties very freely. Nor did he find it difficult to conciliate the population generally, as many villages actually drove out the bands of the invading Greeks, of their own accord.

The insurrection in Epirus being quelled, Fuad-Effendi could turn his attention to re-establishing order, restoring lost property, and giving compensation to those unjustly plundered. He was also very severe in repelling the excesses of his Albanian troops, and he is represented as having worked wonders from the time of his arrival in Epirus, in examining the claims of the natives, seeing that justice should be done them, and in punishing malefactors of all sorts. He sent to the poor corn for sowing, and distributed as much money amongst them as his limited means allowed.

The only refractory district that remained was Djumorka and Radovizi, but the Turks having now an overwhelming regular force in Epirus and Thessaly, the insurgents had small chance of success. Even then it was announced that the insurrectionary movement in Thessaly was not more successful than that in Epirus; and the Russian organ in Athens, the *Aion*, admitted that the Greeks had had great reverses in Thessaly. The Turkish force in Epirus and Thessaly already amounted to thirty regular battalions.

Having cleared Epirus, the Turks proposed to combine their attack on the rebels in Djumorka and Thessaly by three combined movements. Abdi Pacha was to march from Metzovo to Trikala, where insurgent bands were still roaming about; Achmet Pacha was to march from Peta to Radovizi, and Osman Pacha to Gardiki.

Meanwhile the state of things was said to be frightful in Thessaly. It was a war of extermination, but the Greeks were drawing back to the frontier. About April 27th, the Arabs, under Selim Pacha, were attacked at Velesi, and lost a good many men, though they repulsed the insurgents. The latter, in their flight, were attacked by another column of Arab troops, under the command of Ibrahim Bey, near Moltanouskha, and routed. In both these engagements, the Turks themselves acknowledge a loss of seventy-five killed, and 145 wounded. The Greeks had cut deep ditches, in which they were hid, and from which they sent a murderous fire into the Turkish ranks. It was impossible to learn the loss of the Greeks, but they were retiring to the frontier, driving all the inhabitants they met before them.

About this time, some insurgents left Volo, and going to Ossa, tried to rouse the people, who, in many cases, drove them off. A body of

1500 also reached the N.W. chain of Olympus, intending to act in concert with those of Ossa. The ravages in Thessaly were natural in Greeks, though disgraceful to Christians and men. Not plunder alone, but murder, rape, destroying and burning, were the order of the day. More than 700,000 sheep were carried over the Greek frontier. "This wholesale robbery cannot be left unpunished," says the correspondent, "and it is really high time that the infamous Government which countenances and encourages such predatory expeditions, should be brought to its senses, and compelled to disgorge its plunder. The word *patriotism*, so often misapplied, has never been so fearfully abused as in this movement. I assure you it is revolting to hear of their crimes from the inhabitants of the villages which had to suffer from them."

This letter appeared in the *Times* of May 31, and is a fine reply to the leader of the same paper, May 3d, where we read, "Whatever the misconduct of the Greek Government may have been, it does not justify the adoption by Turkey, *acting under the advice and control* of England and France, of measures which appear to be dangerous, impolitic, and unjust." Alluding to the threatened expulsion of the Hellenes, the journal continues, "the Greeks have been punished, in their private and mercantile interests, for the offences imputed to the Court, which they *hate and despise*;" and it proceeds to draw a distinction between the Hellenes and the Rajas, Greeks in Turkey, and to defend the latter. But in the same article it admits that Grivas, and his followers in Thessaly, gave a pound of gunpowder and twelve drachmas for two Turkish heads; and in the same paper of May 5th, we read that, amongst the prisoners recently taken by the Turks, in their combats with the insurgent Greeks, were found four or five officers of the Hellenic army, who had not resigned, and who were in all probability still receiving pay. These officers were sent to Constantinople as a living proof of the complicity of the Greek Government in the insurrection against the Ottoman Porte. Among the dead bodies left by the insurgents on the field, were also recognised those of several Greek soldiers.

But this is not all, for the same paper states that the Greek conspiracy, of which the Russian emissary, Baron Oelsner, was one of the principal members, was a most formidable affair. The plan was to raise a host of some 60,000 Greek conspirators, in various parts of Turkey, who, at a given hour, were to put their Turkish neighbours to the sword. According to the correspondent of the *Wanderer*, the principal blow was to be dealt in Constantinople, when the direction of the insurgents was to be intrusted to a certain Plantaganet Harrison. Oelsner, who received one hundred piastres a-month for acting as a Turkish spy, unbosomed himself to a physician, Aska, who told it to the authorities. One conspirator, a Greek Captain Constantine, in correspondence with M. Metaxa, had engaged to find forty Greek captains who would convey arms and ammunition to Constantinople, and assist in the work of death, with their crews. A Colonel Robinianoff was the middle man, between Oelsner and Prince Gortschakoff. Yet the *Times* called the expulsion of the Greeks unjust and dangerous.

Nor have we yet finished with this matter, for we are informed

that the monks of Mount Athos, who had at first prayed for the success of the Hellenic arms, terrified and disgusted by the massacres performed in Thessaly by the pretended liberators sent them by the Greek Government, resolved to remain faithful to the Turkish Government, whose aid they implored.

The Allied Powers, finding the piracy and mutiny in Greece, Epirus, and Thessaly, injurious to their trade and cause, resolved at length to send cruisers to the Greek waters, and use violence with those misguided men. The Gulf of Lepanto was blockaded with French men-of-war about 11th April, and the transmission of patriots and ammunition checked. The French brig *Mercure*, the frigate *Pomone*, and an English vessel, assisted in stopping the incursions of the Hellenes on the Turkish territory. Yet 4500 or 5000 passed over to Missolonghi, and a greater number had entered Epirus through Acarnania. The first measures of repression adopted by the Allied Powers were soon found insufficient; piracy began to increase, and French and English ships were plundered of their cargoes.

In the beginning of May, correspondents from Syra wrote that piracy was making fresh progress in the Greek seas. The new impulse which the loudly avowed complicity of the Greek Government had given to the insurrection only encouraged acts of brigandage. Bands recruited among the dregs of the population, and provided with papers, perfectly regular, delivered by the Greek Government itself, infested the Archipelago in fishing-vessels, attacking indistinctly vessels of all nations. The commercial people of Smyrna were in great alarm. From Athens intelligence arrived that three generals had left, appointed to reorganize the Greek Insurrection, taking with them 600,000 drachmas (one drachma = ninety centimes). The piratical policy followed by the Greek Government with regard to Turkey had already cost 2,000,000. The voluntary subscriptions only amounted to 180,000 drachmas, and the receipts of the treasury for the month of March only yielded 600,000 drachmas. Nevertheless, all the services were duly paid up. Hence it was useless to seek to establish what the Emperor of Russia clearly avowed in his Circular of 2d March. It may be considered as certain that that prince furnished a military subsidy to the Greek Government. This subsidy was in May 1,000,000 drachmas.

Whilst these facts poured in, news arrived that Macedonia had been invaded by a band of Greek adventurers, to the number of 2000, having at their head Shami-Karatasso, Aide-de-Camp of the King of Greece. According to the same information, 500 Greeks were said to have landed at Sigga, while the remainder of the expedition proceeded to St. Nicolo. The Greeks marked their presence in Macedonia, as they had done in Epirus and Thessaly, by unheard-of acts of brigandage. They are said to have burnt alive 150 Turks—men, women, and children—who had sought refuge in a church.

Additional accounts arrived,¹ representing the entire Archipelago as infested by Greek pirates. Private letters from the Piræus gave some details of the piracy which had been organized through the

¹ *Times*, May 22.

whole extent of the Hellenic kingdom. But it was added that the energy displayed by the European nations, in attacking and sinking them, had had a salutary effect. The pirates had become so audacious, as to have planned the seizure of the military arsenal of Paros. The failure of the plan was only owing to the presence and determination of foreign men-of-war. In short, the proceedings of the pirates were secretly encouraged by Otho.

Meanwhile additional facts appeared, proving the guilt of the Greek Government. In the baggage of Tsavellas, captured during the rout at Peta, was found the correspondence of that chief with the Greek Ministers, particularly M. Scarlato Soutzo, the Minister of War. In defiance of the remonstrance of the British and French Ministers at Athens, the Greek Government continued to beard the Great Powers, because they had a fixed idea that no Christian Power would actively interfere to put them down. At length, however, Louis Napoleon, who has always shown much decision of character, addressed a letter to Otho, which may be considered as an ultimatum, and was taken to Greece by M. de Bourré. The letter was couched in the most energetic terms: the Emperor addressed his royal brother in right imperial style, and ordered him to beware of what he was doing. If his Hellenic Majesty professed inability to put down the movement, he was to be assisted by France in the operation.

The French squadron stationed on the coast of Greece at this period consisted of the steamers *Pomone*, *Gomer*, *Promethee*, *Heron*, and *Solon*, and the sailing vessels *Serieux*, *Mercure*, *Beaumanoir*, *Olivier*, and *Cerf*. About this time, 2d May, news arrived from Athens announcing the return of multitudes of Greeks into Greece, in great disorder, after their defeats in Epirus and Thessaly. A painful impression was produced by this at Athens; but the cause of the insurrection was not yet thought to be quite lost. Generals Spiro Milio, Vlacoperites, and Gardikiotes Grias, had been sent to the frontier, as we have seen before, ostensibly to preserve order, but really to reorganize the insurrection.

Notwithstanding the letter of Louis Napoleon, Otho, tutored by his Queen and Ministers, continued to plot treachery and mutiny. Hence the Allies, or rather the French Emperor, determined not to be mocked, sent a land-force to the Piræus, to use gentle pressure. May 25th, seven steamers, laden with troops, entered the Piræus. The English landed first; at ten A.M., between 3000 and 4000 were landed. Shortly after, the French Ambassador arrived, and held a conference with General Forey, the Commander of the forces. At half-past three P.M., the Ambassador announced that the King had decided in changing his Ministry, and making his excuses to Turkey.

Meanwhile the Staff selected a plain near Munichia for an encampment; Kalergi was appointed Minister of War, a man opposed to Russia; and the Queen had a violent nervous attack.

After this decided step, the insurrection became gradually extinct, only continuing to smoulder a little longer on the borders of Thessaly. During the operations of the Allies at the Piræus, the mission of Fuad-Effendi had been attended with almost complete success in the districts of Prevesa and Arta. The Sultan's commissioner showed

the native Greeks great clemency, and much severity to the Hellenic invaders. The peasants resumed their labours, and the district of Arta alone remained somewhat disturbed. This was occasioned not by the Porte, but the insurgents, who had carried off the population of many villages into Greece, and would not let them return when they solicited to do so. The Greek authorities had at first made a great noise about a pretended emigration of the Rajas, and they did not like that a voluntary return should give the lie to their declarations.

A letter of 13th June, from Salonica, announced that the Anglo-French intervention in Greece had produced an excellent effect. The news of the occupation of the Piræus spread rapidly over the provinces, and convinced the people that the Western Powers would not suffer an insurrection.

The revolt was reduced to very narrow limits, and the mutineers, hemmed in between the Turkish forces and Allied cruisers, were soon reduced to surrender at discretion. Some boastful and exaggerated reports, emanating from the Greeks, attributed to the latter, and especially to their hero, Tchami Karatosio, many triumphs, and the destruction of thousands of Turks; but the result of his victories was seen in his capitulation (13th June), near the little port of Daphne, where he embarked with his men on the Solon, French man-of-war, agreeing to surrender, with arms and baggage, to the authorities of Chalcis. This arrangement was made, with the consent of the Turkish Admiral, in the Gulf of Monte Santo.

We must now drop this disgraceful insurrection, only pausing to remark the clemency and charity of the Mussulman Turks in treating their rebels, as contrasted with the ferocity exhibited by Austria against the Hungarians, who had defended their rights and laws. Yet we suffer the Austrians to enter and *protect* Wallachia! As regards the kingdom of Otho, it is evident that common sense and benevolence would hand it back at the peace under the shelter of the Porte.¹

It is asserted by some Reviews that there was no very marked feature in the contest till the declaration of war by the Allies. We confess that we cannot agree with this opinion. The ultimate object of the Russians, beyond the occupation of the Principalities, was by no means clear to most people in England, though it was long known to the best authorities that it was out of the power of the Czar to seize Constantinople, and that he was too well advised to attempt it. The

¹ "We are far from surprised to find that Otho is still intriguing, thwarting his new Ministry, and plotting new insurrections. Till this worthless monarch is deposed, and his people reduced under the legitimate sway of Turkey, Europe will have no peace. England still clings to fallacies and falsehoods on the side of the Greeks; but their old friend, Nicholas, who may be trusted when he makes admissions against his interest, observes, that 'the greatest curse which could befall the world would be the elevation to power of a people so destitute of public virtue as the Greeks—a nation of *pirates* and *bandits*.'"—*United Service Magazine*, July 1854, p. 424.

The last report states that Otho has acknowledged his delinquencies, and humbly apologized to the Porte, and that a treaty is about to be concluded. Black perfidy should never be trusted; and it is only the pressure of the Allies at the Piræus that has stopped the excesses of that incendiary Government.

Muscovites were not sufficiently strong for an onward movement across the Danube, though they brought on the affair of Oltenitza perhaps to alarm their enemy for the safety of their post at Turtukai.

The right of the Russians was extended so far, and in such force at Krajova in Little Wallachia, and near Kalafat, that the Turks felt apprehensive about their left flank, and threw up tremendous works at that place. It appears, however, that they did not show their usual judgment in this case, because it was evident that the Russian movements around Kalafat were a feint to draw off the attention of the Turks from the Dobrudscha, where the Ottomans had it in their power to have cut off the whole Russian army in the Principalities. Now, the Dobrudscha was on the extreme right of the Turks.

Pens, partial to Russia, have even admitted that the Turkish sallies in general seem to have been effective at Kalafat; and according to the most authentic accounts, the affair of Citate was really brilliant. From time to time, we are told, skirmishes occurred along the whole line of operations, for the most part insignificant, and partaking of the character of harassing partisan warfare, rather than affording evidence of combination on the part of the commanders. Yet these unimportant skirmishes had the most important result, for they proved, much to the annoyance of the foes of Turkey in England, that the Turks could not only defeat the Russians behind stone walls, but also in the open field.

In February it became evident that a change of operations was contemplated by the Russians. Preparations were made in anticipation of the coming events, but as every project is underhand in Russian diplomacy and strategy, which always go together, it is difficult to detect if any movements on the part of Muscovite troops are in earnest, or merely feints. The corps of Osten-Sacken (though the General remained himself at Odessa), after being announced as approaching for many months, at length joined Prince Gortschakoff. It may have been detained on the way by the desolate steppes of Bessarabia, and the peculation of the Russian commissariat, or by some secret design of diplomacy.

Meanwhile, the most experienced soldier in Russia, though a superannuated veteran, was appointed to command the Russian troops in European Turkey. Prince Paskewitsch was requested and ordered by the Czar to start for Bucharest, and certain bodies of troops were marched into the Principalities, as reinforcements. Yet it appears that wilful exaggerations have always magnified the number of Muscovites in the Turkish territory from the outset of the war, and that the northern barbarians have been altogether outnumbered¹ by the Turks, and exceeded by them in valour and energy.

The passage of the Danube was effected by General Luders towards the end of March, without encountering any great amount of opposition on the part of the Turks, who were far outnumbered at

¹ This refers of course to the whole amount of troops drawn up on both sides, in the basin of the Danube. On particular points, such as Silistria, the Turks were frequently far outnumbered by their antagonists.

this spot, the Russian army being massed together on its left wing.

The ill-informed or perverse uttered the usual dirge, that Turkey was on the verge of ruin, and that the Russians would be in Constantinople within a month. This outcry has proved false, owing to the energy and ability of the Turkish generals, and the gallantry of their troops. The movements of General Luders, after his successful operations on the Danube, were necessarily slow and uncertain, because he had a tremendous series of fortresses on his right flank in advancing into the Dobrudscha. He had discovered that his chief difficulties were commencing, after crossing the Danube. Though much contradiction and uncertainty attaches at present to this portion of the war, owing to the brilliant imagination of the Vienna electric telegraph, and to the misrepresentations of part of the British Press, it is clear that during the general retreat of the Turks on Schumla, much hard fighting took place in the open country, and by no means always to the advantage of the Muscovites.

In June, Rassoia, which had been represented as occupied by General Luders two months earlier, was still in the hands of the Turks, and the junction between the corps of Luders and the main body under Paskewitsch, could only be effected tardily. Nor can the friends of the Czar deny that General Luders met with a serious disaster at Tschernavoda on the 22d of April, though every attempt has been made in London and at Vienna to hush up or diminish the importance of the affair. The fact is, however, that the Turks showed on this occasion admirable strategy and undeniable bravery *in the open field*, that they took the Russians in flank and rear, and inflicted on them a very severe loss.

The admirers of Nicholas represent the operations of Prince Paskewitsch as worthy of his great reputation. We are told that it was a great fault in Gortschakoff to extend his line so much, and that his successor showed consummate skill in concentrating his forces on the right flank of the Turks. We shall soon see if this judgment is vindicated by facts.

An army concentrating on Bucharest, and abandoning Little Wallachia, moves along the chord of the great curve presented by the course of the Danube, from Widdin to Rustchuk. Hence, in order to meet the altered position of the Muscovites, the Ottomans weakened the garrisons of Widdin and Kalafat, and one body of Turks was sent to pursue the retreating Russians in Wallachia, whilst another body marched down to join the main body at Schumla.

The impartial historian is reduced to the necessity of acknowledging that the retreat of the Russians from Little Wallachia was disastrous to themselves, and glorious to the Turks, who carried on a very active and harassing pursuit from the 19th to the 25th of April, during which their cavalry often closed with, and charged the Russians in the plain country, and invariably inflicted the severest chastisement on the dispersed Muscovites. The result of these operations was to place Krajova, Aluta, and Little Wallachia, in the hands of the Turks, who were received with transport by the poor Christian Roumani, after the persecution and ruin to which they had been exposed at the hands of their protectors the Russians. "Since

then," continues a Russian organ, "an active system of annoyance has been kept up by the Turks on their enemies," and the Russians met with a considerable reverse in the vicinity of Nicopolis, which was also mitigated by the delicacy of the British and Austrian Press.

Meanwhile, Paskewitsch began to threaten the fortress of Silistria in front, and it was bombarded under the immediate direction of the Commander-in-Chief, whilst preparations were made to throw large masses across the Danube, there as well as at Oltenitza, under the superintendence of the eminent engineer, General Schilders. A general movement on Silistria was now anticipated, and though some time elapsed before the fortress was invested, when that event came to pass, it was speedily anticipated by German diplomacy and Ministerial journals, that this indifferent fortress would fall, and that Turkey would be placed at the mercy of Russia, and of its secret instruments in Western Europe.

It is asserted, on the testimony of Admiral Dundas, that Silistria was finally invested by a force of about 80,000 men at the beginning of May. A leading Review gives a very summary account of the siege, because the Turks were victorious, simply observing: "The Russians' attack failed, contrary to every expectation, as the force employed in the siege is so much more numerous than in the siege conducted by Diebitsch in 1829." It is added, "the defence has been most gallant, the Turks having again displayed the best military qualities in their heroic struggle." Yet, a leading organ of the Press, whose correspondents give a full account of this memorable siege, attributes the whole success to two British officers and a Prussian gunner,¹ and loses no opportunity of charging the Turks with incapacity and sloth. We can only state in reply, that no other army in Europe has presented an instance of such a desperate resistance to an overwhelming foe.

As the siege of Silistria is the only military operation of any importance that has marked the summer of 1854, we may be permitted to dwell upon it somewhat minutely, especially since it has proved that the Turks, if not coerced by diplomacy, are strong enough, not only to defy Russia, but also their Austrian protectors.

The defence of Silistria is one of the most interesting episodes of modern history and of the war, and has crowned its defenders with laurel. In vain do we seek a parallel in the events of recent warfare; and, save the solitary case of Saragossa, we are not acquainted with an equal instance of dauntless heroism since the days of Numantia and Saguntum.

We shall begin by offering some general observations that were made on the character of the siege by officers and correspondents in Turkey at the time. A ministerial writer states, June 17th, "The defence of Silistria is one of the most obstinate ever made by any fortress. It has now undergone a siege of twenty-seven or twenty-eight days, and the Russians have not succeeded in getting possession of a single inch of ground occupied by the Turks. The 'Arab' fort has had to suffer a cannonade from a battery, distant 100 paces,

¹ Colonel Gracht died of cholera, August 1854.

and a fusilade from chasseurs, at the distance of thirty. The garrison did not lose heart; and though the miners are heard at work under one of the bastions, they hold the wretched fort, and sharpen their bayonets to meet the coming storm. The mine fails twice; but a third time it is more successful, and the bastion, with its three sentinels, is blown into the air. The assault is made, but the Turks having cut off the diseased limb by an interior intrenchment, repulse their enemies, with the loss of 200 killed; they themselves suffering a loss of 100 *hors de combat*. This constancy would be surprising in any but Turks. * * * The garrison is in good heart, and well provided with every necessary. * * * The artillery practice of the Russians is pronounced to be most accurate."

Another writer says, "Captain Symons, of the Royal Engineers, who went to the fortress some time ago, returned yesterday (June 12), and gave the most satisfactory account of the slowness with which the siege is progressing, and the heroic defence which the Turks are making. Up to the day that Captain Symons left Silistria, the Russians had gained no real advantage, though they developed a formidable power in their attempt to reduce the place. Silistria is not surrounded; and the passage from the fortress, through the forest of Deli-Orma and to Schumla, is still open."

Captain Symons's account of the heroism of the defence is wonderful. He says that "the defence of Silistria is a new precedent in the history of sieges," and that "the defence of Saragossa is as nothing to what the poor half-naked Arabs and Arnauts are doing at Silistria. The Russians, for the last twenty-eight days, have been making strenuous efforts to reduce one of the advanced works, the Arab Tabia. They have bombarded it, without rest or intermission, and almost daily they have attacked it. Whatever there was of works has long since been smashed to atoms; but still the Arabs and Arnauts hold out on their post, and they have hitherto repulsed every attack which the Russians have made. On one occasion the Russians, by the mere weight of masses which they hurled upon the place, forced the defenders out of it; but the Arabs rallied in the open field, fought like lions, and actually forced the Russians out again."

Another correspondent remarks, "The Turkish soldier is the best in the world." Describing his visit to Silistria, he says, "We hastened to visit the former fort of Arab Tabia, which has been so wonderfully defended. It is the weakest of all the forts, but larger, and contains a more numerous garrison. The Russians have established their batteries at 100 yards' distance from the intrenchments, while their riflemen have advanced to within thirty yards. The Arab Tabia is literally riddled with balls, and the garrison is sheltered by weak intrenchments, originally constructed for the immediate defence of the interior of the fort. In the attack of the 10th, the Russians sprung a mine, and succeeded in effecting a passage through the breach caused in the outer wall of the Ani-Tabia: they got inside, but were beaten off with serious loss. Captain Nasmyth, who was shut up in Silistria, observes, 'I can assure you, that the defence of the fort Arab Tabia is truly marvellous.'"

A correspondent from Berlin, June 25th, states that "little doubt exists that the heroic defence at Silistria, by the skilful and valiant

Mussa Pacha, who received his death-wound whilst in the act of returning thanks to God for a further glorious success obtained by his indomitable garrison, has led to a complete modification of Prince Paskiewitsch's strategical plans."

Speaking of these plans, he adds, "All these plans have been frustrated by the wonderful constancy of the Silistrian garrison; and a magnificent army, led by the ablest generals in the Russian service, has been compelled to beat an inglorious retreat, after suffering the most deplorable losses; not from want of courage on the part of the assailants, but from superior constancy and indefatigable vigour on the part of an enemy whom they had dared to despise. Prince Paskiewitsch, it is said, affirmed that he held the keys of every stronghold on the Danube in his hands. It is evident that he must have taken a false impression in wax, which melted in his fingers."

The first intelligence of the siege of Silistria reached England in the beginning of June. "A besieging force, of from 40,000 to 45,000 men, under Paskiewitsch, are closely investing it; and it is feared on all hands, that unless immediately relieved, it must fall; its military garrison consisting of only 15,000 men, though from the extent of the works it would require 40,000.

"All the male population of the town have been compelled to take up arms by Mussa Pacha, the Governor, which gives him 10,000 men, but mostly old and inefficient.

"From the 12th to the 21st May, the Russians had concentrated all their forces engaged in the siege of Silistria, in making a series of desperate assaults upon the place. The Turks, who are determined to defend it to the last extremity, succeeded, after long contests, in repulsing all the attacks, with heavy loss to the enemy. In the course of one of these, on the 21st, the Russians sprung a mine by accident, and hurled nearly 1200 of their own troops into the air. During the confusion which ensued in their ranks, the garrison made a sortie, and repulsed the Russians to a considerable distance."

On the 20th June, the telegraphic news arrived of the tremendous and final defeat of the Russians. It was stated that the Turks had attacked and fought for hours with the greatest determination, and that General Schilders was carried off the field dangerously wounded. This action was represented as having occurred June 13th.

Soon after, more accurate accounts arrived of this fearful conflict. England learned with wonder that the Russians had been repulsed with immense loss; gradually it became known that, while the Allies were encamped at Scutari and Varna, the Turks had fought like heroes. Prince Gortschakoff had been wounded, General Schilders had undergone amputation at Kaharatch, and Paskiewitsch himself had been injured. Here was evidence enough of the severity of the conflict; but it was added, that the combats and the explosion of the great mine had caused so many deaths, that the putrefaction of the bodies was equally dangerous to the Russians and Turks.

According to his custom of only attempting decisive *coups* with large masses, Marshal Paskiewitsch had assembled imposing forces before Silistria. Information, from authentic sources, states that the number of troops concentrated before that place, when the Russian Commander-in-Chief arrived there, was not less than 100,000 men;

nor did he think that force sufficient. He sent for additional troops, especially artillery; and even the Wallachian militia was made to attend. These figures, given by impartial and competent authority, make known the extent of the check given to the Russians before Silistria.

The most formidable attacks during the siege appear to have been on the 22d and 28th May, and 12th June.¹ A despatch of Mussa Pacha, describing the first, says, "Thanks to the Almighty, who has shown us his favours, and to whom we offer our most sincere prayers, I have again to report that the Russians, on Friday evening, and after a severe hail-storm, attacked the forts of Arab and Yelanli Tabia, but they were completely repulsed. This morning, another and unsuccessful attempt was made. Our soldiers fought most brilliantly. The enemy lost upwards of 400 in killed, and as many again in wounded."

A second despatch from Mussa Pacha, of the 29th, stated that "the Russians, with a very large force, attacked this night, at half-past one, our forts called Arab Tabia and Yelanli Tabia. The enemy came up in three lines, with scaling-ladders, and a brigade of sappers. Twice they were repulsed, but they came on. The third time they succeeded in penetrating into our trenches. Our soldiers fell upon them, and, after a desperate struggle, pitched them over into the ditches. In this brilliant affair, I have to report fifty killed, and as many wounded, on our part. The enemy has suffered thirty-fold. We took several prisoners, and about 280 muskets, and a large quantity of ammunition. May the Lord Almighty always grant to our beloved Sultan the victory over his enemies."²

The Russians made incessant attempts, but their great attack was on the 12th June, when Nicholas had written to his generals to take the place at *any cost*. A Turkish surgeon, describing Russian strategy at this time, says, "People in Germany, France, and England, have no idea of the destructive way in which the Russians wage war; the battalions and squadrons are driven into the fire as if their bodies were proof against iron and lead."

It appears that this system of driving the troops into action had to be adopted, 12th June, and the result was seven generals wounded or killed on the Russian side. Marshal Paskiewitsch received a contusion in the right hip whilst manœuvring under Fort Abdul Medjid, 9th June. General Schilders lost a leg, and died of his wounds. Prince Gortschakoff was slightly, and General Luders severely

¹ The chief efforts of the Russians, 21st May, were directed against the fort of Arab Tabia, which they attacked thrice—and even with cavalry; but they were disgracefully routed. On the 22d, drawn up in five lines, they attacked the detached fort called Levent Tabia, but, without doing much injury, suffered considerably.

² The Russians admitted a loss of 800 killed in these attacks. Lieutenant-General Selwan and Major-General Popow led the troops. The former was mortally wounded by several balls. The attacking force consisted of three companies of the 3d battalion of the Poltawa regiment, the 3d battalion of the Alexopolis regiment, and the 1st battalion of the Samoski rifles, supported by four battalions of the 2d brigade of the 8th infantry division. Among the latter were the Alexopolis rifles, under Major-General Prince Urusson. General Popow, Colonel Count Orloff, and many officers, were wounded, and Colonel Gladysch died of his wounds.

wounded, and 10,000 men were said to have fallen in the last attacks, from the 5th to the 12th June. The *United Service Magazine*, describing the last assaults, observes: "On the 5th of June, another desperate assault was made by the Russians. They were again repulsed with immense loss. Omar Pacha succeeded in throwing in reinforcements of three battalions of foot, three squadrons of horse, and a battery, on the 8th of June; and the promise that he would speedily come to the relief of the fortress, cheered the garrison. Captain Butler took a leading part in the defence of Arab Tabia. He was slightly wounded in the back by a spent ball; and, on the 8th, was wounded in the forehead by a ball that rebounded from off the parapet. It was the latter wound which proved mortal.

In another place, the Magazine has the justice to admit that the heroic defence of Silistria reflects the greatest honour and glory on the Ottoman arms. Five Russian generals fell before its walls: the loss in killed was enormous. No less than 10,000 men are supposed to have fallen during the forty days of the siege. But, in another place, it agrees with the *Times*, "that the presence of Captain Butler and Lieutenant Nasymth contributed greatly to keep up the courage of the garrison."

It is far from our wish to disparage the services of our chivalrous countrymen, but Turks have almost always fought as well without European encouragement; and it is not likely that two Englishmen and a Prussian could defend a poor unprotected outwork against an overwhelming host of Russians for forty days, without the support of the best of soldiers.

We have carefully perused most letters from the seat of war during this siege, and we find the invariable opinion of all European officers and writers to have been that Silistria must fall. Its garrison consisted of 12,000 men; the Russians attacked with 100,000, and yet they could never take even a weak outwork. Nevertheless, the European correspondents were right, for most other troops would not have held the fortress so long; but they did not know the Turks. A field-officer, writing in June, observes: "We have great fears for Silistria, which *cannot* be preserved without Omar Pacha's descending from Schumla and gaining a battle." Judging by other troops, the writer was correct; but the Turks are what another correspondent recently stated—"the best soldiers in the world." This explains the repulse of the Russians, though it does not explain the necessity of Austrian protection in the Principalities.

The Russians abandoned the siege of Silistria on the 26th June (some accounts say the 23d).

The Russians undertook the siege of Silistria with a double object—to make up for their previous checks by a brilliant exploit, and to endeavour to cause Omer Pacha to abandon the system of temporization, which had been so advantageous to him, by causing him to fight a great battle. The siege was undertaken with enormous force, and blood was prodigally shed: the best generals have perished in it: 20,000 soldiers have succumbed, either from the fire of the enemy or from fever. But this supreme effort has only served to prove that, so far as the art of taking fortified places is concerned, the Russians

are not much more able than were the Huns, their prototypes. It will be remembered that, in 1828, at the siege of Ibraila, in presence of the Grand Duke Michael, a mine, destined to blow up the ramparts, destroyed, by the clumsiness of the engineers, a considerable portion of the Muscovite column of attack, amounting to 7000 men. In 1854, the Russian engineer officers have not been much more fortunate, and their mines have only caused the destruction of their comrades. Thus, after repeated assaults, the Russian army was not able to possess itself even of the fort of Arab Tabia, and it has been forced to retire without even commencing an attack against the fortress of Silistria, properly so called.

We read again, "that the losses of the Russians were really terrific, in their late abortive attempts to storm Silistria, is confirmed by the *Medical Gazette*, wherein their loss is estimated at 13,000 men." According to the statements of this correspondent, the Russian army was completely demoralized; and it was even darkly hinted that some of the wounds of the Russian generals had been occasioned by Muscovite, and not by Ottoman bullets.

It may be safely affirmed that, since the battles of Austerlitz and Friedland, Russian armies have not suffered such a defeat. But reverting to the Turks, they did not long remain inactive, but pushing across the Danube in pursuit of the retiring Muscovites, engaged in numerous skirmishes, in which they were generally successful. There was, however, an exception. On the 7th of July, a body of Turks, 2400 strong, crossed, and after some opposition, a detachment under Captain Arnold carried a battery of two guns, but were soon driven back by very superior forces, and fell back on another detachment, also commanded by an Englishman. Both officers and all the men fell.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Burke, with another battalion, landed higher up, but met also with a sturdy resistance—this officer and many of his men also falling. In the evening, however, the Turks sent reinforcements, and amounted to nine battalions; and though the Russians brought up six battalions, the former remained victorious. But their loss amounted to 1000 men and three British officers. In the evening, the Russians retreated to Giurgevo, and on the following morning to Frateschti.

This unlucky skirmish was carried out under the command of Colonel Balfour Ogilvy and General Cannon; and though the British officers and Turkish troops fought with their customary gallantry, and proved ultimately victorious, it is somewhat painful to reflect that the heavy loss appears to have resulted from bad strategy, and that one of the most dearly-purchased victories on the Danube should have been fought under the lead of Englishmen. Nor is the remark of Colonel Ogilvy quite fair: "The Turks do not fight overwell in the open field." No troops can anywhere figure well when badly led; but Citate and Silistria have shown what Turks can do when commanded by able officers.

Facts have sufficiently proved that the Turks do not require protection, and this is almost admitted by all parties. As to the Danubian Principalities, they are tired of Protectorates, and partial to the Turks. Yet able statesmen give them up to Austria, and declare

that Austria will be very useful during the expedition to the Crimea to shelter them and us.

We greatly fear that Austria will injure them, and protect her ally and patron the Czar; and Turkey and the Principalities, disgusted with Austrian protection and diplomacy, may, perhaps, eventually look to Russia herself to help them, and save them from their friends.

It may seem unnecessary to prove that the Turks do not need our protection. On the retreat of the Russians from Little Wallachia, in the spring, a Turkish force, composed in great part of Bashi-Bozuks, forming the vanguard, attacked and utterly defeated in the open field a large body of Russian cavalry, consisting of dragoons, lancers, Cossacks, and all styles of troopers. With respect to their artillery, the correspondent of the *Vienna Medical Journal*, 30th April, says: "The Turkish artillery-department is evidently better managed than ours. * * * They have the habit of bringing their heavy artillery into play only after the battle is well engaged, 'when their guns being murderously well pointed,' they floor whole files of their opponents." He describes the Turks as a "never-resting, unflinching, and fearless enemy, and the loss of life as tremendous. * * * Not far from Custendjeh, on a piece of boggy meadow-land, with an area of hardly 6000 feet, we lost 243 men and 71 horses, although this affair, in comparison with others, was unimportant, and ended by the retreat of the Russians." He speaks of the enormous train of *kibitkas*, or carts, for the wounded Russians, and of the immense hospital-accommodation required, the number of wounded being 2600, which gives 3000 dead and missing. This state of things continued, and grew worse, till the siege of Silistria was raised. With respect to the defence made by the Turks within fortresses, Baron Moltke says:—

"It is impossible here to resist a word in praise of the devotion of the Turks in the defence of posts, not only on the part of the soldier, but of every male inhabitant of the place capable of bearing arms: the bravery of the Russian in the attack was that of a gallant soldier; but that of the Turk in defence, was in a spirit of self-immolation that admitted of 'no surrender.' It is in the close hand-to-hand fight that he is pre-eminent: under cover of a heap of ruins, or behind the fragments of a breach, each individual considers himself as in his own fortress, which must individually be reduced; hence, it is a common and a true saying, that where, with other nations, a defence closes, it commences with the Turks."

We cannot pursue the march of the Turks into Wallachia. Numerous skirmishes occurred, and the Russians were thoroughly discouraged and severely punished. Omar and his gallant troops advanced to Bucharest in August, and the Turkish commander received an oration on his entrance into the Wallachian capital. It is evident that the Turkish army could have driven the Russians over the Pruth, and invaded Bessarabia long ere this, but the Allies wished the war to be carried on in a humane spirit, and the Austrians were called in to protect the Principalities, *i.e.*, to supplant the Russians. The Turks do not well see the use of the Austrians, but they may perhaps shortly find their abuse. Meanwhile, the Wallachians are dissatisfied with them; and the Russians hold part of Moldavia,

whilst the Turkish forces are said to be marching down to dislodge them. It is probable, however, that German intrigue will prevent this consummation.

We must now turn to the Allied fleets and armies, and see what this splendid force has done throughout the summer.¹ Let us begin with the Navy.

Six months had elapsed since the battle of Sinope, and the Black Sea fleet had effected little, being detained at Beicos Bay for two or three months.

At length a provocation occurred that could not be overlooked, but the chastisement was as gentle as the most humane statesman could have desired.

We are reduced to the necessity of borrowing our narrative from the French despatches and from private correspondence, as our Government only published a meagre and short account of the affair, after a long interval.

The English Declaration of War reached the fleet at Baltschik Bay, April 9th, upon which the steamer *Furious* was sent to bring off our Consul from Odessa, with a flag of truce.

She sent in a boat, also bearing a flag of truce, to fetch the Consul. As some delay occurred, the lieutenant in command of the boat thought it right to return to the *Furious*, on perceiving which, the Russians opened their fire upon the steamer: six or seven shots were fired, fortunately without effect. On the 17th April, the French Declaration of War having arrived, both fleets sailed for Odessa to demand an explanation from General Osten Sacken, the Russian Commander. The General having returned an unsatisfactory and untrue answer, the Admirals sent in a demand for the delivery of all the shipping in the port, and, in the event of no answer arriving by the 21st at sunset, declared that they would punish this outrage on the law of nations. On the morning of the 22d, the steamers of the combined fleets attacked the Imperial Mole at Odessa, and during the day completely destroyed it, and most of the Russian shipping within it.

Here we must pause to give a brief description of Odessa, which is an important seaport town, situated between the mouths of the Dniester and Dnieper, in the government of Kherson. It was built in the reign of the Empress Catherine, in 1794, and rose rapidly under the administration of the Duc de Richelieu, a French emigrant, and friend of Alexander. Its port is protected by fortifications, and situated between two moles. There are, in fact, two harbours, the Navy and the Pratique, or Merchant's. This town carries on an immense trade with the Levant, England, Trieste, Vienna, &c., and the amount of business transacted there annually is estimated at 30,000,000 roubles. Since the present war, it has increased immensely, as we keep up no blockade; and the stoppage of the Sulina Mouth, and devastation of the Danubian Principalities by Russian troops, has greatly benefited the corn trade of the Ukraine. This was one object of the war with Russia, and has not been entirely defeated by the Allies.

¹ The Autumn Campaign in the Crimea will appear in the Supplement.

The imports at Odessa are estimated at 10,000,000 roubles annually. The exports consist chiefly of cereals. The population of Odessa amounts to 97,000 souls; in the year 1853, 2246 entered the port, of which 1902 cleared out with cargoes, chiefly of corn.

In anticipation of some fighting and offensive operations, the fortifications of Odessa were strengthened in the spring of 1854, and a considerable body of troops congregated there, under the command of General Osten Sacken. This officer is a General of Cavalry, an Adjutant-General, and the Commander of the 3d Russian army corps, of which a portion was posted between Bucharest and Braila in the spring of 1854.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 22d of April, the signal was made for the steamers to commence an attack on the Imperial Mole, and the fortifications in the neighbourhood. Orders were given not to fire at the Pratique Mole, where the British shipping were anchored; and, as much as possible, to abstain from wanton destruction of private property. It is curious to compare this with our transactions in the Gulf of Bothnia, recorded in the following chapter.

The steamers entered in two divisions: the first consisted of the Sampson, Furious, Vauban, and Mogador. Some accounts state that the Sampson fired the first shot at the Imperial Mole, and the fire was instantly returned. The action continued about two hours without cessation, but without any decided success. The Russian embrasures were much knocked about, and several of their guns silenced.

At seven A.M., the second division received the signal to stand in. It consisted of the Terrible, Tiger, and Retribution, and three steamers. The Allies exposed themselves to loss from the shot of the enemy, but at first their shot did not reach our ships, though they suffered severely under our fire. The Terrible stood farthest in, and fired red-hot shot. After a time, a loud explosion was heard. The Imperial magazine blew up, amidst the cheers of the crew, and most of the Mole, with the large battery, was destroyed. A Russian frigate in the harbour took fire and burned to the water's-edge, and blew up. Two new frigates were also burned. Rocket-boats were sent in to assist the steamers, which were now signalled to stand farther in. The dockyard was soon in flames, and burned two days; the lower part of the town also took fire, and as the batteries on the Pratique Mole fired on them, the English sailors could not be restrained from returning their fire.

Certain correspondents attempted to show that much damage and destruction was done to the town, but it appears that the injury resulting from the bombardment was chiefly confined to the burning of a few ships and wooden sheds in the dockyard. A sufficient proof of the gentleness of our fire is found in the circumstance, that the trade of Odessa has increased immensely this year, at the expense of that of the Danubian Principalities, and of Turkey; and as it is the chief object of the Russian Government to impoverish Turkey, and make the rest of Europe dependant on them for grain, it is, perhaps, to be regretted that our commanders only made a faint attack on Odessa. It would possibly have been more judicious to have ruined the town and commercial port, which might have struck a heavy blow at Russia, and helped to finish the war.

At seven P.M., the action had lasted twelve hours, and the ships were recalled. The Terrible had three men killed, and five wounded; the Retribution, three; and the Sampson, five wounded. The exact amount of the Russian loss has not been ascertained, but cannot have been great.

The ships-of-the-line had only looked on as spectators during this engagement, which was virtually nothing more than a slight attack. But such triumphs have satisfied our present humane rulers in this war. It was not always so, before the spirit of the Government and nation had become so humanized, or, what some writers would perhaps call, tame.

Soon after the intelligence of the attack on Odessa reached England, the nation received the news of the loss of the Tiger, and that Sir Edmund Lyons, who was detached with a squadron of steamers to help the Circassians, had captured a few forts, *after* the Russians had abandoned them. Their garrisons had, in some cases, been transported by sea to Sebastopol during the winter; for the Russians, who are more familiar with its navigation than the English, are not afraid to encounter the winter storms of the Euxine.

On the 12th May, the Tiger, of 1275 tons burthen, and mounting 16 guns, which stranded at seven versts from Odessa, was forced to surrender before the Vesuvius and Niger could come to her assistance. Her captain, Giffard, lost one leg, a midshipman and five men were wounded: 226 prisoners were taken. The Russians had two officers wounded, and two soldiers killed. As the vessel could not be removed, she was set on fire, and sank the same day. Some of her guns were taken as trophies to Odessa, whither the captain and crew were conducted, the former dying soon after of his wounds. Though the Muscovites had disgraced themselves by attacking this helpless ship with an overwhelming force and heavy batteries, they caressed the prisoners in the most amiable manner,—a humanity tending to mitigate the horrors of war.

We must pass from a disaster to a success, and record the cruise of Sir Edmund Lyons and M. de Chabannes along the coast of Circassia. After Nicholas had recalled or removed all his troops, and the Muscovites had evacuated or dismantled most of their forts, a squadron of the Allies sailed to Bardan on the 17th of May, and, after giving powder and ammunition to the mountaineers, cruised along the coast, passing Sotcha, Dranda, Pitzounda, and Bambari, all of which were found to be abandoned by the Russians, and partially destroyed. Arrived at Soukhoum Kaleh, the town was seen to be very pretty, and to present an appearance of comfort and wealth. It had been evacuated by the Russians, who were from 3000 to 4000 strong, on the 19th of April; but thirty cannon were left, all of which were not spiked. Some of the ammunition and stores also remained, though most of it had been thrown into the sea.

After visiting Soukhoum Kaleh, the squadron made a tour to Redout Kaleh, off which they arrived on the 17th May. At first they thought it had been abandoned, but a nearer inspection showed this not to be the case. The Sampson received orders to go near the coast, sounding all the way, and, strange to say, *did not ground*. They found depth enough of water to bombard the place, near at

hand ; but not wishing to destroy it, they sent for a battalion of Turkish troops to the Tschourouksu : 800 were embarked on board the Mogador, and other vessels, the Turks, as usual, performing their duty with speed and activity, because they are in earnest in the war. A whole day was thus lost. Returning to Redout Kaleh on the 18th, nothing seemed to have been done in the interval ; but seeing men about the works, the Allied Commanders anticipated resistance. However, as they had the protection of a Turkish battalion, they adopted the most cautious measures, and at length resolved to attempt a descent.

An officer with a flag of truce was sent to Redout Kaleh, with a polite invitation to the Russian Commander to yield. He was received and entertained by a number of Muscovite officers, with their usual exquisite politeness. All spoke French perfectly well. They asked him to *wait* a moment for the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief, to whom a message had been sent, and during this diplomatic conference, with the customary duplicity of Muscovites, they disguised their intentions by fair words. The French officer waited ten minutes—half-an-hour—but no one came. At length the patience of the Allied Commanders was exhausted, and having allowed time for the Russians to escape, they landed the Turks, who found the Russians in full retreat over a bridge of boats, 500 yards from the entrance. In the plain was a small column of from 700 to 800 men, cavalry and infantry, who were retiring. On leaving, the Russians set fire to a large village on the right bank.

Having arrived just in time to be too late, and suffered the Russians to destroy everything, and leave the ground unmolested, the Allied Commanders put spades and pickaxes into the hands of the Turks to hasten the fortified works, so as to put them in a state to resist superior forces. Admiral Lyons considered it necessary to have a steamer at hand, which, in case of an attack, would give the Turks real or moral support. The Sampson was selected to remain. During these operations of the Allies, Selim Pacha had taken Ozerghiti, and occupied it with the main body of the Turkish army. He took it almost without striking a blow, and he found store-houses full of stores. The small resistance made by the Russians can only be explained by the Allies, by supposing that they were afraid to engage against superior forces. On reading these operations, it is interesting to compare them with the Vernons and Hawkes of the good old times, who were more wont to act than to talk ; but procrastination has been the accompaniment of this war. A heavy squadron might have been off Circassia throughout the winter, and prevented the transport of Russian troops to Sebastopol, where they have been taken to oppose our land-forces in September 1854, who, though conveyed across at so late a date, that the best time for protracted operations is past, are happily landed in a healthy country, and during an unusually fine season.

War had been declared by England, and France followed its example. A superb fleet had sailed for the Baltic, and another was moored in Beicos or Kavarna Bay. The Ministerial journals announced a magnificent land-force as about to leave England and France to protect Constantinople.

Months elapsed, and the land armament at length got clear of home, burdened with cross-belts, stocks, and razors, without proper tools or provisions, and with no battering-train. England was at length deprived of troops, Portsmouth without a regular garrison, and the militia regiments our principal protection. The nation was paying largely, and its army was detained throughout the summer at Varna, weakened by fever and cholera. Meanwhile, Constantinople had been protected by the Turks at Silistria, but the Austrians entering Wallachia, guarded the Russians from their pursuit.

Let us proceed to examine the composition of the land-force sent out by the British Government to assist Turkey during the summer of 1854.

Lieutenant-General Raglan (Lord Fitzroy Somerset), the Secretary of the Duke of Wellington throughout the Peninsular War, and who lost an arm at Waterloo, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the British army in Turkey. This army consisted at first of two divisions of infantry, each 10,000 strong, and a third was subsequently added, consisting chiefly of cavalry, under Lord Lucan. The two infantry divisions were placed under Sir George Brown and the Duke of Cambridge, in whose division was the splendid brigade of Guards. Lieutenant-Colonel Pennefather was appointed Quarter-Master-General, Colonel Sullivan, Adjutant-General, and Colonel Cator, Commandant of the Artillery. Each regiment had some companies provided with Minié rifles, and all the officers were armed with Colt's revolvers.

The cavalry only came out slowly and in detachments, many horses dying *en route*, as they were sent in sailing transports, whilst the infantry, to whom a speedy passage was of less moment, were despatched in splendid steamers that made the passage to Turkey sometimes in ten days. Several additional corps have been sent subsequently, but we have seen that it was long ere the siege artillery arrived. The Commissariat department seems to have been badly managed throughout, and the hardships of the troops began at Malta.

The French force sent out in the spring consisted of the 6th, 7th, 20th, 26th, 27th, 39th, and 74th regiments of the line; the 7th light infantry; five battalions of Chasseurs de Vincennes, and three regiments of Zouaves from Algeria; one regiment of native tirailleurs; eight squadrons of Chasseurs d'Afrique; one regiment of curassiers; one of dragoons; four companies of sappers; and eleven and a half batteries of artillery. These troops have been greatly reinforced at a subsequent date, but the heavy siege artillery only reached Varna in August. Marshal St. Arnaud, Minister of War, a man of distinguished African reputation, was appointed Commander-in-Chief, having under him, as Generals of Division, Canrobert, Bosquet, and Prince Napoleon. D'Allouville, commanded the artillery, Labauf the artillery, Colonel Tripier the engineers, and Colonel Martimprey the staff.

These splendid forces, which were soon materially increased, left England and France about the end of March and the beginning of April; but the chiefs tarried on the road, sharing in festivities, and various exchanges of civility.

By the end of April, the British and French contingents, although as yet not complete either in guns or cavalry, were established at

Gallipoli and Scutari, and every day was adding to their strength. A popular Review wrote some months since, "An active employment of them cannot be far distant;" and the Duke of Newcastle and Sir James Graham have both shown that a fleet of more than one hundred transports, a considerable proportion of them being possessed of steam power, has been maintained ready in the Black Sea, throughout the summer, at the disposal of the General and Admiral.

The British and French Commanders-in-Chief arrived in Constantinople early in May, and soon after held a conference with Omar Pacha. The strength of the contingents under their command was now 80,000 of all arms. A strong dépôt was formed at Gallipoli; lines were constructed, and a garrison has been kept there. In the same manner, it was proposed to surround Constantinople by intrenchments from the Sea of Marmora to Doukos, on the Black Sea. The Ministerial organs add, "It is to be assumed an Allied garrison will be maintained at the capital, as well as at Gallipoli, and we shall probably see a force of about 60,000 men take the field to operate against the Russian army; Varna being the first place of assembly for the contingents." Subsequently to the period when this was written, three months elapsed without a shot being fired.

It is with regret we have to chronicle several accidents attending our expedition to Turkey in the spring. A gallant captain of Highlanders was drowned in a ditch, during a dark night, while the troops were encamped at Scutari. Some French Zouaves at Gallipoli nearly occasioned an outbreak by violating the sanctity of the harem, and it was necessary to hang them as an example. The poor Pacha of Gallipoli, bullied and bored by the Christians, died of vexation and exhaustion. Some British artillerymen, at or near Scutari, quarrelling with Turkish troops, fired upon them, killing and wounding several of them.

When the expedition arrived at Varna, it was not long ere it lost a gallant colonel by a fall from his horse; and the French General, Espineau, a man of handsome exterior, was bitten and kicked by his horse in such a frightful manner, as to be disfigured for life. When the troops were encamped at Aladyn and Devno, they drove away all the native villagers by their outrages: soon after this the Europa was lost, and then came the cholera.

At the same time, it must be candidly admitted that the expedition had two advantageous results. After ages of rivalry, British and French soldiers met side by side, and learned to esteem each other as friends. Never was more hearty co-operation or companionship than that between the two armies, and if they did nothing but die of pestilence, it was not the fault of the men. Another great benefit has resulted from the expedition to the British army. Our insular position and national character lead us to a foolish conservatism in all things; but experience in the field, and companionship with others, made us feel the folly and cruelty of cross-belts, stocks, shaving, coatees, clothing-colonels, and a thousand barbarous abuses of the past. Many of these were discarded, and it is to be hoped that the remaining ones, which are not few in number, will be likewise shortly abolished.

Whilst our squadron was cruising in the Euxine, the army was

slowly wending its way to Gallipoli and Scutari. Impartiality requires us to add, that the delay was not owing to the insufficiency of our merchant transports and companies' steamers, which were excellent, whilst those provided by the Admiralty were often defective. Conservatism here, as elsewhere, has been occasionally the bane of the service; and the present war has shown that the continuance of cross-belts, stocks, shaving, coatees, blunt tools, and infirm transports, proceed from causes inherent in constitutional countries.

Many regiments, especially cavalry, were weeks, and even months, *en route* from their quarters in England to their place of embarkation, yet cavalry was especially wanted in the East; and, as regards the train of siege artillery, it only reached Varna at the end of August. Yet some authorities pronounced the spring the proper time for military operations. During this, perhaps, necessary delay, the French have lost 6000 and the English 2000 by cholera at Varna, a loss exceeding that of several sanguinary and decisive battles.

We have now to relate an untoward catastrophe that befell one of our transport ships at the end of May. By the official declarations on the trial at Gibraltar, June 12, it appears that the *Europa* transport, with the head-quarters and a large part of the 6th dragoons on board, whilst on her passage from England to the East, caught fire about ten P.M. on the 31st of May. It could not be ascertained if the fire was occasioned by accident, or the carelessness of the crew or men, who frequently smoke about the cabins and stables on board ship. It appears evident, however, that so soon as the fire was announced, Colonel Moore, the officers, and men, behaved in a calm and disciplined manner, till the crew very improperly cut away some of the boats, when there was a rush on the part of all who retained any sense of self-preservation. This led to disorder and an untoward calamity; for, though some officers and twenty-six men got off in one boat, and many escaped in others, together with the master and mate of the transport, the colonel, several sergeants and men, and all the horses, were burned or drowned. The captain related, "that when the flames caught the mizzen-rigging and burnt through, the colonel and several others, including the women, fell overboard. The boat of the *Clemanthe* (another ship not far off) made two trips. I came back myself in her. The weather was moderate, with heavy rain. To the best of my belief, had the Admiralty's agent's boat stopped by the ship, she might have saved several lives."¹

In short, here, as elsewhere, carelessness appears to attach to the agents of the Admiralty and Transport Service, and it is far from improbable that the *Europa* was in an improper condition when commissioned.

Many men from other regiments had to be drafted off to meet the

¹ *Morning Herald*, June 20. "The strength of the detachment of Enniskillens, or 6th dragoons, was one lieutenant-colonel, W. Moore, one subaltern, three staff, five sergeants, fifty-four rank and file, two women, one private servant, fifty-two horses, thirteen officers, forty-four troop. Of these, nineteen were drowned, including the commanding officer. The remainder were saved by the Prussian schooner *Kenner Kingsford*, and the British brig *Clemanthe*. The fire occurred when the ship was 120 miles N.W. of Cape Finisterre, lat. 48 deg. 1 min. N., long. 7 deg. 30 min. W."—*United Service Magazine*, July 1854.

vacancies occasioned by the loss of those on the *Europa*; and the same result has followed the sickness that has swept over the army and fleet at Varna, where, it is affirmed, that they have been exposed at the exact spot condemned by Curzon, Urquhart, and the natives.

Nor is this all; for our carelessness, or our partiality for the Greeks, has occasioned the destruction of vast magazines at Varna by incendiary Hellenes; and when our men have been in the act of inflicting summary vengeance on these scoundrels, taken in the very act of betraying their liberators, our officers interfere, and spare them because they are Christians, when they would show no mercy to them if they were Turks.

During the inactivity of the army at Varna, several Indian officers tried to discipline the Bashi-Bozuks, but failed, not owing to the refractory character of those men, but owing to the wretched pay they received. All the European officers employed in the work bear testimony to the splendid military qualities of these gallant fellows, and to their wonderful endurance under hardships.

During this repose on land, a considerable sensation was made in the fleet because a little British steamer had lured out of Sebastopol two or three large Russian frigates, which, as soon as they came within range of our larger steamers, exchanged a few shots, and then sailed back to port again, no sort of damage being done on either side.

This was succeeded by another oversight in our fleet. The *Vladimir*, Russian steamer, under a Greek captain, who was informed of the imperfect blockade by Greek spies, came out of Sebastopol alone, dashed through the Allied fleet, looked into the Bosphorus, destroyed some colliers at Heraklia, and made some prizes of Turkish traders, which it carried back in triumph and safety to the Crimea.

Such negligence was not of common occurrence in the time of Lord Nelson, Collingwood, and St. Vincent. But it is easier to read their biographies than to emulate their virtues. The Admiral and the fleet in the Black Sea and the Baltic had been ordered to observe deliberate caution by our diplomacy.

The cholera broke out among the French on the 10th, and at Varna on the 12th July. Between the 10th and the 14th, nearly 150 French and forty or fifty English had fallen victims to the pestilence. Dysentery and fever began at the same time to spread alarmingly. Since the days of Walcheren, there has been no expedition that has suffered more heavily than the present demonstration. One of the finest brigades is that of the Guards; yet an officer of high rank has declared that he could hardly recognise the corps, so much has sickness debilitated all its regiments.¹ He adds:—"I am not far from the truth when I say, that there are not 40,000 men in the whole British force who have not, since they came here, suffered either from diarrhoea, dysentery, or fever. I am informed that the *Britannia* has lost 134, the *Albion* 95, the *Ville de Paris* 217, and the *Montebello*, moored in the bay of Varna, 103 men.

The *Spitfire* returned about this time from Custendjeh, and from

¹ Among the heavy losses experienced by the British army from cholera, we may record the lamented deaths of Lieutenant-Colonel Boyle of the Coldstream Guards, and Major Mackay

the accounts she brought of the state of that town, the sickness among the French troops while there must have been even more general and appalling than was at first supposed. The ground was strewn with arms and accoutrements, all French, and thrown away by the men as they became too feeble to carry them. In some cases, the tents had been left standing, with their occupants dead inside. The country was dotted with these objects; and the famished dogs were gnawing the putrid bodies in the broad daylight. These traces speak of an awful mortality. The total loss of our Allies *must have been upwards of 5000!* Such an amount of sickness, falling in the course of ten days on 30,000 men, has perhaps no parallel in the annals of modern warfare.

Upon one of the stockades at the Sulina Mouth, the crew of the Spitfire found the lower half of the body of a young woman. It had evidently been severed by repeated cuts of a large knife, as one would cut a sheep in half. The Cossacks, who were the only persons in the neighbourhood of the stockade, must bear the odium of this atrocious murder. Such are the glories of war.

In this case, the best part of a year will have been wasted by the Western Allies. To find a parallel for the campaign of 1854, we must go back to the Walcheren and Helder expeditions. Now, as in the beginning of this century, fleets and armies, full of ardour, under the command of able and enterprising officers, will have been exposed to the ravages of disease, and the tardy conquests they are allowed to achieve will be thrown away by an incompetent or overscrupulous Government.

Whilst the greater part of the Allied camps and fleets were decimated by pestilence, like the Greeks at Troy, and the men of Pericles at Athens, Captain Parker, an able and a gallant naval officer, making a careless reconnoissance of the Danube, 9th July, was fired upon by the Russians from the shore. He landed, and in a successful attack on a petty stockade, he was shot through the heart, and threw away his valuable life. This is one out of a score of instances in the present war, where inferior officers, wearied with the inaction of their superiors, have rushed into needless danger out of vexation of spirit. Soon after the death of Captain Parker, three steamers arrived on the 13th July before Odessa, and destroyed some works that had been erected there. The Allies fired some thousand shots. The Russians (as usual) lost one man.

On the 19th, a battle was fought near Giurgevo, in which the Russians were completely defeated, and two of their generals killed. The Allies had no hand in this action, as their commanders had issued orders to remain at Varna. Nor, sooth to say, were they needed, for it appears that the Turks, when left to themselves, can defy the world.

CHAPTER III.

THE WAR IN ASIA.

WE must now quit, for a season, the European scene of this war, in order to examine the proceedings in Asia, since its outbreak in 1853.

The war in Asia falls under two heads: 1st, the Caucasus, including the thunderclaps of Schamyl and the cruise of Sir Edmund Lyons; and, 2dly, the Armenian frontier. The reader is familiar with the topography of these regions, if he has perused Part II. The contest in these regions has been diversified and chequered; Schamyl has descended like a whirlwind and swept all before him, whilst the Turkish Redifs, being undisciplined and badly officered, though fighting stubbornly, retired before their foes.

All the accounts of this contest, emanating from Russian and Austrian sources, are suspicious, as they are both addicted to slander the Turks. As, however, we have no other save some meagre British statements, we must use our judgment in deducting the invariable amount of inaccuracy contained in the epistles of correspondents.

We shall begin with the hero and prophet of the Caucasus, who has worthily upheld his reputation in the present contest, because he is in earnest, and unfettered by constitutional formalities. We cannot pause to chronicle his antecedents, which we have described elsewhere, and should be studied by all who love sublime examples of humanity.

At the time of the outbreak of this war, his fame and power had spread throughout the isthmus, and though Prince Woronzof, the Governor-General of Southern Russia, is one of the ablest commanders and most consummate statesmen in the Empire, he was unable to make any permanent impression on the indomitable mountaineer and his clans.

In the middle of November 1853, so soon as Schamyl learnt that hostilities had begun between Turkey and Russia, British correspondents represent that he descended from his mountains with 16,000 men, attacked Prince Woronzof, and though the latter had 30,000 men to oppose to him, he was obliged to abandon the field, after a murderous engagement, and to retire to Tiflis.

Whilst the Russian journals spread continual reports respecting the defeats of Schamyl, intelligence reached Constantinople from Trebisonde, about the end of February, that the Emir had gained another splendid victory over the Russians at Saklyar. Another engagement was reported to have taken place on the 18th of January, when the *Invalide Russe*, with its customary exaggeration, relates that he left 150 dead on the field, whilst, as usual, one Cossack only fell on the side of the Russians.

Schamyl had received money, arms, and instructions from the Turks, as early as November 1853, and he was reported in the spring to be

arming and equipping the mountaineers with great energy. A great portion of the neutral tribes had declared for the hero-prophet, and determined to engage in the sacred cause of their faith and country. Several direct communications took place between Schamyl and the Porte in the winter, and the Emir is reported to have formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the Sultan.

The diplomatic efforts of English officers to cement a union between the Circassian chief and the Christian Allies, were defeated by the revolution wrought in the religious and political system of Turkey, through the influence of evil counsellors. It is also possible that a warning from Mr. Urquhart, forwarded to the mountaineers in the spring, was instrumental in occasioning the refusal of Schamyl to receive any aid from the Allied Powers of Western Europe. The intelligence of this important event reached England in July, announcing that Schamyl had resisted the advances of our diplomacy, and was able, as heretofore, to carry on the war unassisted.

But we have somewhat anticipated the thread of events, and we must revert to the spring of 1854, when a Turkish, British, and French squadron was detached to the coast of Circassia, under Sir Edmund Lyons, for the purpose of fraternizing with the natives, and occupying the Russian forts. It is advanced that this ought to have been done four months sooner, but there never has been a very strict blockade of the Black Sea by the Allies since the commencement of the war. The *Times*, of May 19th, inserted a letter from Constantinople, describing the departure of the Turkish squadron, of twenty-two vessels, from the Bay of Buyukdere, with troops for the Circassian coast. After enumerating their strength, and dwelling at length on their weakness, the writer launches into a series of observations about Schamyl, almost suspecting that age had chilled his energy. It is true that the writer attempts to atone for his inaccuracies by introducing the abstract of an Arabic epistle, purporting to come from Schamyl, wondering at the English not helping him as they had done the Greeks before. The document was probably forged; and, though containing some truth, had an insidious object. Meanwhile the Turkish fleet sailed with ammunition for Schamyl. Sir Edmund Lyons was at hand to prevent *mischiefs*; and, May 30, news was received, dated the 15th, from Constantinople, announcing the evacuation of Redout Kaleh, Usurguet, Gagri, and other places, with the previous destruction of the towns by the Russians. An officer in the fleet, describing these events, says, "Sir Edmund Lyons has gone with the *Charlemagne*, and some other steamers, to the Circassian coast (May 22d). He has done little or nothing. The Russians, we believe, have destroyed all their forts, except Anapa and Soukhoun Kaleh, where they have concentrated all their force."

Vice-Admiral Hamelin, in a despatch of May 5th, describes the Anglo-French squadron that sailed that evening under Rear-Admiral Lyons, as intended to attack and destroy the ships and establishments of the Russians in the boundaries of the Crimea and Circassia. This naval division was composed of the steamer *Agamemnon*, the French steamer *Charlemagne*, five English steamers, and two French steam frigates, the *Mogadore* and the *Vauban*. The *Times*' cor-

respondent from Varna, May 11th, alluding to this, says, "Sir Edmund Lyons is a very intrepid officer, *qui ne sait pas faire les savantes retraites*; I have no doubt that we shall soon hear of something decisive in that quarter."

After a slight delay, the nation was gratified with the despatches of Admirals Dundas, Hamelin, and Lyons, announcing the triumph of the Allies in occupying Soukhoum Kaleh, after it had been evacuated and burned by the Russians. The reader has already learned the particulars of this operation.¹

Whilst our fleet was clearing the Russian forts on the coast of Circassia, and sending two diplomatic officers from the Terrible to communicate with Schamyl, the mountaineers, who are in earnest about the war, were not idle. A letter from Erzeroum, of May 30, states that the Daghestan chief had advanced to within twenty-five miles of Tiflis, at the head of 30,000 men and fifty guns, served by *Russian* and *Polish deserters*. The roads across the Caucasus were closed, and the only route for couriers was *via* the Caspian.

A letter from Trebisonde, of the 4th, mentioned, that after the evacuation of the forts, the Russians had advanced in a strong body of 20,000 men, on their march to Tiflis, as far as Dariel, when they were attacked by the Circassians, under the command of Naib Mehemet Emin. The Russians were repulsed with a loss of 2000 *hors de combat*, and three guns. Letters from Constantinople, of the 15th May, announced the capture, by the Circassians, of 1500 Russians out of 6000, who were waiting for ships to take them; and thus the results of a warfare of fifty years were destroyed in a few days, as the Russians did not possess a single fortress on the coast of Abasia and Mingrelia.²

Nothing more was done by the Allied squadron throughout the summer on the coast of Circassia, but it lay at anchor at Varna and Baltschik Bay, or cruised about the mouth of the Danube, whilst its crews were anxious for active service, and decimated by the cholera.

The only account that we have obtained of the proceedings of Schamyl, during the month of July, emanate from the *Invalide Russe*, a paper of notorious inaccuracy, and has been rendered somewhat doubtful by subsequent events. This paper gives a pompous narrative of some affairs in the beginning of July, between the Russians and a body of mountaineers, 15,000 strong, according to the *Invalide*, and under the immediate command of Schamyl. The mountaineers are stated to have attacked and taken possession of the village of Schil'dy, the Russian force then being very inferior in number; but they were subsequently driven out, leaving 480 dead, whilst the Russians had, says the journal, only nineteen killed and thirty-eight wounded. Several other conflicts ensued, all of which, if we are to believe the *Invalide*, ended gloriously for the Russians; and, by the 19th July, this part of the Caucasus had been entirely freed from the presence of the army of Schamyl.

But soon after this, the news of a thunderclap smiting Georgia, reached Europe, and gave the lie to the bombast of the *Invalide*;

¹ Part IV., chap. ii., p. 50.

² See Part II.

proving, in the words of Urquhart, that the war is at an end on the Danube and in the Caucasus; that not a Russian could remain in the Caucasus, unless supported by us; that the expedition to the Crimea might destroy Russia; and that the Cabinets of England and France have a most powerful auxiliary in Schamyl.

The tidings to which we allude, relate to a tremendous blow struck in Kachetia by Schamyl, at the end of August or the beginning of September. The most authentic accounts relate, that between the 26th August and the 1st September, Schamyl entered the northern part of Georgia with 18,000 men, and advanced to Kour. The centre, where he was in person, was at Achalgori on the 28th August; the right wing, under the Emir Hassan Emin, was at Gori, on the Kour, at the same date. The left wing, under the Emir Chupli Emin, was at the Mzehet, a little to the north of Tiflis. The Russians appear to have been taken completely by surprise, made little resistance, and fled to the mountains. Schamyl burned 200 villages in the district of Kachetia, the most favoured part of Georgia; captured an immense amount of booty, and many prisoners of high rank, including forty Russian ladies of noble birth, amongst whom were two sisters of Prince Dadian. The consequence of this splendid achievement was immediately felt throughout the Caucasian isthmus, as far as Armenia; proving, in the words of Urquhart, that the sway of Russia is at an end there. By the last accounts, Schamyl was marching on Tiflis; and General Read, the Governor-General since the resignation of Prince Woronzof, had recalled Prince Beboutoff from Bayazid, to protect the capital of Georgia.¹

Let the reader remember that the intercourse between Russia and Georgia is cut off by the mountaineers; that the forts on the coast have been evacuated or destroyed (through the presence of our fleet and the gallantry of the Circassians); and that the discomfited Russian forces in Georgia are in a trap between two fires, with Schamyl to the north, and the Turkish army advancing on them to the south, and it will be evident that they cannot escape, save by the intrigues of diplomacy. Silistria and Schamyl may, however, be sacrificed in a Protocol at Vienna.

It will also be evident, that if secret enemies did not tie the hands of Turkey, and assist Russia with their insidious policy, that the Muscovite Empire would be at an end. All Southern Russia is ready to revolt, and full of sects abhorring the orthodox Church: an invasion of Turks and Circassians would set them free, and be hailed with transport, and the Russian Empire would be revolutionized and set free to-morrow, if the public affairs of some countries were directed by penetration and patriotism.

The first blow on the side of Armenia was struck by the Turks at Schefketil, or St. Nicholas. This Russian fort, built on the Black Sea, to the north of the Turkish town of Batoum, was captured by Selim Pacha on the 20th October 1853, and has since continued in the hands of its captors. Russian accounts, which are not always trustworthy, represent the garrison at the time of its capture to have

¹ The papers have since announced two victories of Daniel Bey, Schamyl's lieutenant, over General Wrangel, near Tiflis.

consisted of only two companies of infantry, a detachment of militia and Cossacks, with two guns, which were overpowered by the Turks. Only thirty men succeeded in escaping, and Colonel Prince Guriel was taken prisoner.

Since that time, the Russians have made repeated attempts to retake the fort. They made an attack on the 28th October, and others on the 9th and 17th of November, but were beaten off with considerable loss. On the 17th December, a flotilla of Russian sailing-vessels and steamers brought 1200 to the coast, near the fort. But the Turks are said to have brought a superior force against them, under Selim Pacha, and, after an engagement of several hours, the Russians were forced to retire to their ships, with a loss of 400 dead, and one cannon.

On the 19th January 1854, the attack was renewed on the land side, and was intended to be supported by sea, but this was prevented by the stormy weather, and not by British cruisers, as our fleet lay in Beicos Bay. The commandant of the fort, Ismail Bey, made a sally, and drove back the enemy. On the 6th February, the Muscovites made another attempt with five steamers, but they were gallantly repulsed by the Sultan's troops. During this engagement, Austrian writers affirm that the Russians fired 400 to 500 balls against this strongly-placed fortress. The Turks replied vigorously, and sent 100 balls into the steamers, which were at length forced to retire, one of them being seriously damaged, and even reported to be lost.

Whilst these operations were carried on near the coast, the Turkish army on the frontier of Armenia, consisting chiefly of Redifs and Bashi-Bozuks, under Abdi and Achmet Pachas, assisted by a few European officers, had entered the field.

Towards the end of October, and on the 4th and 10th of November, the Turkish army, under Abdi and Kherim Pachas, gained some advantages over the Russians under Generals Nestoroff and Argutinski; but on the 14th November, they were defeated by General Andronikoff. A Turkish bulletin relates that Brigadier-General Ali Pacha and Colonel Hassan Pacha marched with the troops under their command against the fortress of Achiska. The Russians made a sally, in which they were completely defeated; but in our account of the engagement of the 14th, we are obliged to draw chiefly from Russian sources, which are more trustworthy than English accounts. They relate that seven and a half battalions, seventeen guns, and nine sotnias of Cossacks, took part in the action. The Turkish corps is represented as being under Ferik (Lieutenant-Colonel) Ali Pacha, and Livas (Major-Generals) Mustapha and Ali Pachas, and as consisting of 18,000 men (including 8000 Nizam, or regular infantry, 3000 regular cavalry, and the remainder irregulars), besides thirteen guns. This force was posted near Achaltschick, in a very strong position, at the village of Ssupliss (three versts from the old town), beyond the river Pochow-Tschai, and in the villages Ab and Ssisel, on the mountains, about two versts south-west from the new town. The most dreadful carnage took place in the aoul¹ and its gardens,

¹ Village.

where Andronikoff was obliged to send one reinforcement after another. He had only retained one and a half companies on the banks of the Pochow-Tschai, when bodies of Turkish cavalry were visible on the right wing of the Russians. Hereupon he sent Cossacks and Georgian noble sotnias to oppose them. Then, at length, the aoul and the gardens were carried by the Russians, after a fearful struggle. The Muscovites being exhausted, halted, in order to prepare for the pursuit, and the Turks attempted to take up a new position, but were driven out of it. Still the Russian infantry was so utterly fatigued, that it could not continue the pursuit. The Muscovites lost in this battle General Freytag, who died of his wounds, many officers, and 400 killed and wounded. The Turkish loss was estimated at 1000 men, twelve guns, some colours, provisions, &c. Russian accounts claimed another victory over the Turks on the same spot on the 25th November.

From the previous version, it is evident, making due allowance for Muscovite exaggeration, that the Turks fought well, that severe losses were experienced on both sides, and that the victory of the Czar's troops was dearly purchased.

Another battle was fought on the 19th of November at Ugussli, a village between Gumri and Kars, on the right bank of the Arpatschai, not far from Basch-Kadyk-Lar. The Turks were at the time engaged in besieging Alexandropol; but on the advance of Prince Beboutoff, after a skirmish at Gumri, they retired over the frontier. This Muscovite General, who commanded the active corps on the Armenian frontier, followed him with eleven battalions, three cavalry regiments, several sotnias of Cossacks, and sixteen guns. The Turkish force amounted to 30,000 men.

Beboutoff attacked the Turks at Ugussli, and after an obstinate engagement, defeated them, forcing their Seraskier to retire, leaving twenty-four guns, his camp, and many trophies, in the hands of their enemies. Such is the Austrian version of this affair. The Turks lost 800 men killed, but the Russians must have lost a great number of men, as their bulletins admit the death of one staff-officer, eight subalterns, and 308 privates killed; whilst General Prince Orbellian was wounded, and died of the injuries that he received. Nine staff-officers, twenty-four subalterns, and 762 privates, were wounded. Nor was this victory of much importance to the Russians, as they did not pursue the Turks, and soon retired over the border.

Some minor skirmishes marked the contest in Asia in the autumn of 1853, but the antagonists seem to have been nearly equally matched, and wherever the Russians gained an advantage, they suffered heavy losses.

During the winter, the Turkish force in Armenia received some reinforcements, and the accession of several European officers, including the Anglo-Hungarian hero, General Guyon, who was made chief of the staff. Notwithstanding the falsehoods of correspondents from Erzeroum, it is evident that this army was composed of brave and patient troops, like all Turkish soldiers, who never complained or mutinied amidst hardships and want of pay. Recent events have also shown, that though the cavalry may be wanting in discipline, and the new commander, Zarif Pacha, had been a civilian, yet the

artillery and infantry are admirable, and have inflicted tremendous losses on the Russians. The campaign of 1854 began late in Armenia, and its earlier stage was only marked by unimportant skirmishes between General Beboutoff and the Turks, grossly misrepresented by Russian and British journals.

About the beginning of August, a battle was fought between Zarif Pacha and General Prince Beboutoff, at a place called Indjedere. This was greatly lamented, and described as very rash on the part of the Turks, by the same writers who at other times accused the Turks of apathy, indolence, and cowardice. And when it was discovered that in this engagement and the battle of Kurukdere, which soon succeeded, the Russians suffered tremendous losses, the same writers did not scruple to brand the whole Turkish force as a set of cowards.

The ground may have been ill-chosen as well as the day, but the Turkish artillery and infantry covered itself with glory, particularly at Kurukdere, on the 5th of August; and though the Turks retired from the field of battle, the Russians suffered too severely to pursue them. The advantage of the Muscovites was obtained by a fine body of 3000 dragoons, almost all of whom were exterminated by the fire of the Turkish artillery. In short, these Russian victories were as destructive to the Russians as the severest defeats, which is proved by the fact, that instead of obtaining any advantage, after advancing for a few days to Bayazid, General Beboutoff decamped suddenly one fine morning, leaving many of his tents and much of his provisions and ammunition to the Bashi-Bozuks. The Turks are said to have taken 3000 tents in the camp at Kurukdere, where they were left under the guard of two Russian battalions, which were dispersed. On receiving intelligence of the retreat of the Russians, Zarif Pacha caused a salute to be fired, and pursued the enemy with eight regiments of cavalry under Vely and Mustapha Pachas, who were sent out to challenge Beboutoff to fight again, as the engagement of Kurukdere had only been *a drawn battle*. The partisans of the Czar, naturally wishing to disparage the Turks and spare the Russians, attributed the retreat of the latter to the stroke of Schamyl in Georgia. But dates contradict this, for Beboutoff evacuated Bayazid and recrossed the Arpatschai, towards Alexandropol, on the 17th August. "Thus," states a Ministerial paper, "they lost all the advantages of the battle of Indjedere," which never existed anywhere except in the columns of some journals. The advocates of Russia have the candour to add, "that the Russian commander most likely thought *that the losses he sustained on the 4th* would not allow him to stand another battle, which was impending." Here the secret comes out, and, by the admission of a Russian organ, the Muscovites retired "for fear of gaining another disastrous victory," and not on account of the stroke of Schamyl, which did not occur till the 26th. Yet in other columns, this and other papers do not scruple to affirm that the Russians were recalled from Armenia, and retired from Bayazid in consequence of the incursion of Schamyl. We have shown that they retired nine days sooner, and that soon after their disastrous victories on the border, a tremendous blow smote them in the heart of the isthmus, struck by the hand of Schamyl. Hence Urquhart is right in saying that the war is at an end, the Caucasian isthmus is

swept clear of its invaders, and Russia would be on its knees before Turkey and Schamyl, if German intrigues did not step in to protect her and Vienna.

After offering these reflections on the events in Armenia, we must present a brief and connected account of the campaign, paying especial attention to dates, that the reader may judge for himself. The best account that has hitherto appeared of this important and interesting campaign is in the *Morning Herald* of September 11 and 12.

At the beginning of June, the Russian army, about 25,000 strong, was inside the walls of Gumri, and the Ottoman army, numbering 32,000 men, was quartered in and around Kars, with its *avant garde* at Soubathan, and the irregular cavalry posted between the two rivers Karschai and Arpatschai. On the 9th of June, the Russians advanced and defeated Selim Pacha in the battle of Ousourghetti; and they crossed the Arpatschai to the centre, retiring two days after the demonstration; but on the 28th they again advanced, drove back our Bashi-Bozuks, and with seventeen battalions of infantry, four regiments of cavalry, and fifty guns, took up position in the revolted district of Ghiselchackchack. The Turkish *avant garde* was then reinforced, but no decisive steps taken to oppose the enemy, who, on the 30th, again moved one step more in advance, and having crossed the Karaschai, pitched their tents at Injedere,—our *avant garde*, now 6000 strong, retreating to Hadjivelikoi, four hours' march from Kars.

On the 2d of July, the Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish army advanced from Kars with his whole force, and encamped near Hadjivelikoi, with the expressed intention of beating the enemy back. No action, however, took place, a constant skirmishing of the irregulars on both sides alone proving that two armies were within three or four hours' march of each other. It appears, as I have already mentioned, that the Mushir had received positive orders¹ not to risk a battle—at least his forces remained inactive the whole month, decreasing every day through sickness and desertion, while the Russians were daily strengthened by reinforcements from the interior.

On the 3d of August, Omar Bey, a Polish captain, attached to the corps of Bayazid, brought news that “Selim Pacha having, contrary to his orders, accepted battle, had been entirely defeated, and was retreating towards Van, the Russian main body, 8000 strong, being in full pursuit, while a small corps of 1000 cavalry, 2000 infantry, and eight pieces of cannon, had occupied the road leading from Bayazid to Erzeroum, this last place, with the scanty garrison of 800 Redifs, being thus completely at the mercy of the enemy. Spiés and deserters apprized us, nearly at the same time, that the enemy was meditating a combined attack. General Beboutoff was to attack us in front as soon as the victorious corps of Bayazid, having blockaded the Turks in the fortress of Van, should by forced marches by the Erzeroum road have reached our rear.

“Our situation was now becoming very critical, and only two plans offered: either we must fall upon Kars, and from thence send a

¹ These orders emanated, as usual, from the British embassy

division against the enemy in our rear, or fall with the whole of our forces on General Beboutoff's army in front, and beat him before he could combine his movements with his second corps.

"The first of these two plans, bearing the character of a retreat, would have obviously demoralized the army; while, moreover, the troops of Kars, one of their divisions being sent to the rear, would risk the chance of being attacked by an enemy superior in number.

"The second presented all probabilities of success. After a great deal of hesitation, and several councils held, his Excellency the Mushir decided for the last, all the generals here, European and Turkish, being of unanimous opinion that by a decisive step alone the army could be saved. On the evening of the 6th August, the necessary orders were given. Two hours after sunset the army was to march, so as to take advantage of the moonlight. The first division, commanded by Kherim Pacha, was to form a detached corps of four battalions of infantry, one battalion riflemen, two squadrons of cavalry, and one battery of mountain-artillery, headed by Abdarhaman Pacha. This body was to storm the fortifications of the Karadagh above the enemy's camp, assisted by 3000 irregulars, under the command of Resoul Pacha of Bagdad.

"Siri Pacha, with 3000 irregulars, was directed to occupy some heights still farther to the right, so as to fall upon the enemy's rear as soon as they had engaged with the main body of the Turkish army.

"The first division, composed of twenty-four battalions of infantry, one battalion of riflemen, three regiments of cavalry, and seven batteries, had orders to form with its right wing resting on the first division, its left behind, supported by three regiments of cavalry drawn up in its rear. Four batteries of artillery and 4000 infantry filled up the intervals between the two divisions; the whole line presenting the form of an obtuse angle.

"Hassan Yassaye, chief of all the Bashi-Bozuks, with 5000 men, was on our extreme left. His orders were to turn the enemy's right wing, and, simultaneously with Siri Pacha, fall upon his rear.

"Each cannon was provided with 300 rounds of ammunition brought up in carts, and each soldier with 120 cartridges.

"The first mistake was now made: the march of the army was postponed at the last moment from two to six hours after sunset (half-past one A.M.), consequently, the moon having just set, the army was obliged to form and march in utter darkness, and, for some time, lost their way. The second division having lost its distance in the dark, the Mushir halted at daybreak and re-formed his line; but it was already too late to think of surprising the enemy in his camp, our scouts reporting that they were apprized of our movements, and were already drawn up ready to receive us, choosing their own ground. In the meantime, Kherim Pacha, eager to begin, had opened his fire upon the enemy before the rest of the army had taken up position, drawing upon his corps the fire of all their artillery on that point, and was immediately obliged to send for assistance. Vely Pacha, General of Division, received, at this moment, the order from Khourshid Pacha (General Guyon) to advance to his aid. He refused at first, and sent for instructions from the Mushir.

Much precious time was lost, and Kherim Pacha's left wing commenced retreating soon after Vely Pacha had brought up his batteries to bear against the enemy.

"By this time, the whole Ottoman army had formed in line of battle on the hilly ground that commanded the enemy's position, and all our artillery opened a heavy and well-directed fire. The Russians, seeing our advantage, began retreating: *at this moment, the day was ours.*

"The Bashi-Bozuks charged pell-mell upon the enemy's masses, but all at once a tremendous fire was poured into their line. They turned, rushed back in headlong career, carrying with them the left wing of Kherim Pacha's division in shameful confusion, while the enemy, wheeling round out of range of our guns, took possession immediately of the deserted position. A panic spread amongst the Turkish ranks; in vain Khourshid Pacha, at the head of the cavalry, made some desperate charges—in vain the Mushir rushed where the fire was thickest, and tried to reanimate the wavering troops; * * * all was of no avail: the enemy's reserve came up *au pas de course*, their heavy dragoons swept down our miserable cavalry, and by ten A.M. their artillery crowned the heights held previously by our army, and we were slowly retreating across the plain.

"A desperate contest now took place between the 5th regiment of Anatolian Nizam, the 4th regiment Dersadet, the 2d regiment of the Guards (all three forming the extreme left of the second division), and the right wing of the Russian army. But our cavalry could be brought no more into fire: they were overpowered by numbers, and several successful charges of Cossacks and dragoons put them at last to flight.

"The whole Turkish army was now in full retreat. *The enemy, having suffered considerably, was fain to leave us unmolested*, and by sunset the remains of the army of Kars were again encamped under the guns of the fortress, *having effected their retreat in excellent order.*

"Our loss is 2500 killed, 2000 wounded, and 1600 prisoners. Very few Turkish officers are included in the former lists, but they figure advantageously as '*absent.*'"

After this hasty and careless summary, the writer makes the following reflections:—"The plain truth is this, the Turks cannot meet the Russians in the field of battle. They fight like fire-eaters behind walls, but when a regular plan, marches, counter-marches, and especially tact and courage in the officers are required, there the Turks will be defeated."

Every reader of military history is aware how difficult it is to obtain a correct version of a battle, and must remember that the English, French, and Prussians—all three, claim the victory at Waterloo. Under these circumstances, it will be well to compare the foregoing account with extracts from two letters of a later date, and let the reader bear in mind that the above version was written from Kars, August 8th.

August 24th, another correspondent, writing from Trebisonde, observes: "It is the opinion of all well-informed persons that the Turks should be permitted to manage, single-handed, their affairs in Anatolia. Omar Pacha *probably owes his advantages on the Danube to*

this. The first thing in the present state of affairs is to turn away all the foreign officers at Kars, and leave the Bashi-Bozuks and Nizams to tune their own fiddles. *At all events, if disasters do occur, the Europeans are not to blame, as at present.* * * *

"Mustapha Pacha, who was wounded in the arm, has suffered amputation, and is doing well." * * *

Another writer, in a letter from Erzeroum, August 18th, says, that "the Polish officers and General Guyon advising the Mushir to take up a position at Perget, it was unanimously agreed to, when Colonel Miffay arrived from Constantinople, and without consulting the general plan of the rest, premeditatedly opposed himself to the plan of General Guyon. * * The Russians had three generals wounded, names unknown, but one is supposed to have been Kisinski; a great many officers, and from 3000 to 4000 were killed or wounded. *Our troops, with the exception of the cavalry, behaved bravely.* The Russian dragoons suffered much, and the grenadier corps alone lost more than 300 men. Hassan Pacha has been killed, Mustapha Pacha has been wounded by two balls, and thirty officers have been killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The army is recovering from its defeat, is becoming gradually reorganized, and *will soon be in a better condition than ever I saw it to receive the enemy if he should make his appearance, which I think is somewhat doubtful, as he has not molested us in our retreat.* Their own great losses have probably hindered the Russians from pillaging our camp. To conceal the real cause, they have spread a report among their men that the ground in front of our camp was mined."¹

¹ It is with much pleasure that we find our conjectures confirmed by an European officer of high rank in the Turkish army of Armenia. This authority asserts that the Mushir ought to have attacked the two divisions of the Russian army before they had joined. When the action commenced, the Turks took up a position on the right that commanded the whole field. The left wing also advanced. A charge was ordered, which resulted in the taking of two batteries, and two regiments of infantry. However, the Russians gave way, while two Turkish batteries swept off whole files of infantry and cavalry. Beboutoff then ordered two regiments of dragoons to charge those terrible Turkish batteries; but they were received with three discharges of grape-shot, the last volley at the distance of 250 yards, besides the fire of two Turkish infantry regiments, which repulsed them. Twice the Russians renewed the charge, but they were each time repulsed, losing 2000 men. On this point, Beboutoff, *seeing the battle lost*, began to retreat, and in order to cover his flight, he ordered a false attack on the Mushir, who was quite bewildered, and turned a victory into a defeat. The left Turkish wing covered their retreat, and the enemy was so crippled, that he could not follow up his advantage. Russian officers acknowledged, that out of 3000 dragoons, only 609 were living after the battle, and estimated their loss at 8000 men. Beboutoff declared that in his forty years' experience he had not witnessed so murderous an engagement. The Turks lost only 1600 killed and 1200 prisoners, but 200 men of the worst description deserted. They left also on the field, owing to want of horses, fifteen guns of small calibre.

These details emanate from a high source on the spot, and show that the Turks have suffered much less, and the Russians much more, than has been generally represented.

A correspondent of the *Times*, 2d October, writing from Anatolia, informs us that the Russians were so crippled by their victory, that they feared to encounter

Notwithstanding the obscurity and contradiction of these accounts, the truth looms through, and we shall take the present opportunity of illustrating those *defeats* of the Turks with a little history.

All the world knows that Peter the Great began with defeat and ended with victory; but some may forget that at the battle of Narva, 20th November, 1700, Charles XII. of Sweden totally defeated 80,000 Muscovites with his 8000 Swedes; and that the Czar, who came up soon after with 40,000 fresh troops, was afraid to attack the little Swedish army. Yet, in 1709, he gained the battle of Poltawa over the Swedish monarch.

Never was Frederic the Great or the Prussian army more formidable than after a defeat; and some of the greatest glory and renown of that monarch was acquired in the speed and success with which he repaired disasters. But though no one will dispute the ability of the Prussian army to meet any foe in the field, we must not forget that in the campaign of Jena, 1807, it was utterly and finally dispersed in one battle; and that the Prussians, instead of being fire-eaters behind walls, gave up their strongest fortresses to squadrons of cavalry, without striking a blow.

Passing to Spain, in the War of Independence, we find their sieges vying in heroism with those of the Turks; and though they were repeatedly beaten in the field by the French cuirassiers, and put to a shameful flight, they gained the first great victory over the French at Baylen, since the accession of Napoleon I.

Returning to Russia, she lost several battles against the French Emperor, more fatal to the latter than a defeat; thus the sterile laurels of Eylau and Borodino were more fatal to the French than to their opponents. Coming back to the Turks, we are informed that the 3000 splendid Russian dragoons who decided the battle of Kurukdere were almost destroyed by the Ottoman artillery; and it is well known that the Russians in the Caucasian isthmus have scarcely any cavalry, save Cossacks; hence the victory of Kurukdere was most disastrous to them. We are told that the Turkish officers did not do their duty, yet one Pacha was killed, and another lost his arm. Lastly, the defeat is attributed to the miserable irregular cavalry; yet Layard has shown that irregular horse used to be the pride and strength of the Turkish armies; and that imitation of European tactics, and the introduction of our system in the Nizam, has destroyed this most efficient force. Nor can we omit to add, that other writers from the East have recorded that the Turks furnish the finest *materiel* for soldiers in the world; and that on the longest and most trying passages by sea, in winter, exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, they endure every hardship without a murmur, and with admirable patience and fortitude. To these virtues we must add their cleanliness and sobriety, which keep them healthy, whilst Russians, French, and English are decimated by cholera and fever, owing to the uncleanly habits of the first,¹ and the intemperance of the latter.

another action, and retreated. It adds, that they lost 8000 men and 3000 horses, and that a grenadier battalion of 1000 men had only 160 remaining after the battle.

¹ You can smell Russian encampments at a great distance.

The remarks of Mr. Layard on the irregular cavalry of Turkey are too important to be omitted ; he says, "The irregular cavalry is daily degenerating throughout the Empire. The Turkish Government have universally neglected a branch of their national armies to which they owed most of their great victories, and at one time their superiority over all their neighbours. The abolition of the Spahiliks, and other military tenures, has of course contributed much to this result, and has led to the deterioration of that excellent breed of horses which once distinguished the Ottoman light cavalry. No effort is now made by the Government to keep up the race, and the scanty pay of the irregular troops is not sufficient to enable them to obtain even second-rate animals. Everything has been sacrificed to the regular army, undoubtedly an essential element of national defence ; but in a future war, the Turks will probably find reason to regret that they have altogether sacrificed to it the ancient irregular horse."

The following extract, from the same author, will explain the cause of this change :—"The Turkish conquerors, after the overthrow of the Greek Empire, parcelled out their newly acquired dominions into military fiefs. These tenures varied subsequently in size from the vast possessions of the great families, with their hosts of retainers, such as the Hara Osmans of Magnesia, the Pasvan Oglus, and others, to the small Spahiliks of Turkey in Europe, whose owners were obliged to perform personal military service when called upon by the state. Between them, of middle rank, were the Dereh-Beys, literally the 'lords of the valley,' who resided in their fortified castles or villages, and scarcely owned more than a nominal allegiance to the Sultan, although generally ready to accompany him in a great national war against the infidels, or in expeditions against too powerful and usurping subjects. Sultan Mahmoud, a man of undoubted genius, and of vast views for the consolidation and centralization of his Empire, aimed not only at the extirpation of all those great families, which, either by hereditary right or local influence, had assumed a kind of independence, but of all the smaller Dereh-Beys and Spahis. This gigantic scheme, which changed the whole system of tenure and local administration, whether political or financial, he nearly carried out, partly by force of arms, and partly by treachery. Sultan Abdul-Mejid, freed from the difficulties and embarrassments with which an unfortunate war with Russia, and successful rebellions in Albania and Egypt, had surrounded his father, has completed what Mahmoud commenced. Not only have the few remaining Dereh-Beys been destroyed, or removed one by one, but even military tenure has been entirely abolished by arbitrary enactments, which have given no compensation to the owners, and have destroyed the only hereditary nobility in the Empire. Opinions may differ as to the wisdom of the course pursued, and as to its probable results. Whilst greater personal security has been undoubtedly established throughout the Ottoman dominions, whilst the subjects of the Sultan are, theoretically at least, no longer exposed to the tyranny of local chiefs, but are governed by the more equitable and tolerant laws of the Empire, his throne has lost the support of a race bred to military life, undisciplined, it is true, but brave and devoted, always ready to join the holy standard when unfurled against the

enemies of the nation and its religion—a race who carried the Turkish arms into the heart of Europe, and were the terror of Christendom. Whether a regular army, disciplined as far as possible after the fashion of Europe, will supply the place of the old Turkish irregular cavalry and infantry, remains to be seen, and, for reasons which it is scarcely necessary to enter into, may fairly be doubted. With the old system, the spirit which supported it is fast dying away, and it may be questioned whether, in Mussulman Turkey, discipline can ever compensate for its loss. The country has certainly not yet recovered from the change. During the former state of things, with all the arts of tyranny and oppression which absolute power engendered, there was more happiness among the people, and more prosperity in the land. The hereditary chiefs looked upon their Christian subjects as so much property to be improved and protected, like the soil itself. They were a source of revenue; consequently, heavy taxes which impeded labour, and drove the labourer from the land, were from interest rarely imposed upon them. The Government left the enforcement of order to the local chiefs; all the tribute received from them was so much clear gain to the treasury, because no collectors were needed to raise it, nor troops to enforce its payment. The revenues of the Empire were equal to great wars, and there was neither public debt nor embarrassment. Now that the system of centralization has been fairly carried out, the revenues are more than absorbed in the measures necessary to collect them, and the officers of Government having no interest whatever in the districts over which they are placed, neglect all that may lead to the prosperity and well-being of the inhabitants. It may be objected, in extenuation, that it is scarcely fair to judge the working of a system so suddenly introduced, and that Turkey is merely in a transition-state; the principle it has adopted, whatever its abuse, being fundamentally correct. One thing is certain, that Turkey must sooner or later have gone through this change.

“It is customary to regard these old Turkish lords as inexorable tyrants—robber chiefs, who lived on the plunder of travellers and of their subjects. That there were many who answered to this description, cannot be denied; but there were, I believe, exceptions. Amongst them were some rich in virtues, and high and noble feeling. It has been frequently my lot to find a representative of this nearly extinct class in some remote and almost unknown spot in Asia Minor or Albania. I have been received with affectionate warmth, at the end of a day's journey, by a venerable Bey or Agha in his spacious mansion, now fast crumbling to ruin, but still bright with the remains of rich, yet tasteful, Oriental decoration; his long beard, white as snow, falling low as his breast; his many-folded turban shadowing his benevolent, yet manly countenance, and his limbs enveloped in the noble garments rejected by the new generation; his hall open to all comers, the guest, neither asked from whence he came or whither he was going, dipping his hands with him in the same dish; his servants standing with reverence before him, rather his children than his servants; his revenues spent in raising fountains on the wayside for the weary traveller, or in building caravansaries on the dreary plain; not only professing but practising all the duties and virtues enjoined

by the Koran, which are Christian duties and virtues too; in his manners, his appearance, his hospitality, and his faithfulness, a perfect model for a Christian gentleman. The race is fast passing away, and I feel grateful in being able to testify, with a few others, to its existence once, against prejudice, intolerance, and so-called reform."

We cannot quit the contest in Turkey and Circassia without pausing for a moment to repeat our caution respecting the fallacies that swarm in the pages of superficial writers. Three matters claim special notice and criticism in this connection: 1st, Reforms in Turkey; 2d, The Turkish army in Armenia; 3d, Schamyl and the Circassians.

Certain correspondents from the East have endeavoured to influence the public mind, in September 1854, by representing the great necessity for reform in all branches of the administration in Turkey, and the importance of employing the Allied force in the Levant to coerce the Sultan into passing certain measures for the improvement of the Empire. These correspondents are excited to enthusiasm when they announce that the Sultan, influenced by his Allies, is making sweeping reforms in his administration.¹ These remarks allude especially to a bureaucratic system of centralization, which the Sultan is introducing in imitation of the paternal despotism of Austria, and which certain statesmen have attempted to naturalize in England, through innovations in the rural police. It is somewhat remarkable, that these measures of pretended reform which are thrust upon Turkey by men ignorant of the state of affairs in the East, will be as dishonourable and injurious to the independence of Turkey, as those which Mentchikoff endeavoured to enforce, and which were the pretence for the war. Hence, Russia has obtained her ends indirectly through diplomatic intrigue, and Turkey is worse off than ever, as she has many, instead of one, imperious masters.

We have said that these measures have been thrust upon Turkey by those ignorant of her true interests. This is an immediately self-evident proposition. No foreigner can ever truly understand or appreciate another nation's spirit and interest, and all his attempts to reform it must be lame, as he sets up some standard of his own—the creature of prejudice—as his ideal of perfection, and endeavours to mutilate laws and institutions in his fruitless attempt to accommodate them to a state of things with which they cannot assimilate. In attempting to bend a nature diametrically and intrinsically different from their own, they break it. Nor is it so evident that our

¹ The new measures of reform are contained in an Imperial Hatti, and consist of the framing of a new law for the more effectual prevention of speculation and its results, and of police regulations, to watch carefully all matters connected with public order and tranquillity. It declares that justice and righteousness must preside in the direction of all state affairs; and the exchequer must be subject to new and important modifications. It continues, "we earnestly press upon you the consideration of all matters relating to the social condition and happiness of our subjects, without distinction. To this end, it will be necessary to name a commission of five or six members of council, most distinguished for probity and ability.—14th Zilhidge, in the year 1270 of the Hegira.

To appreciate the necessity of these reforms, the reader is referred to the statements of recent visitors, relating to the position of Turks and Greeks in European Turkey. See also Part I. Chap. vii.

standard of perfection is always the best. The equality of Turkey may be better than our inordinate spirit of caste. A strong faith, even in Allah, may be better than a hollow Christianity. Honesty, gratitude, and sobriety, may be preferable to duplicity and intemperance. Yet "our correspondents" rejoice to hear that the Turks are beginning to drink hard, to lie and cheat, under the influence of our example.

Every country wants reform, but this does not justify the inoculation of Turkey with European vices; nor is it so evident that England would approve of a quadruple alliance doctoring Ireland, and thrusting odious reforms upon ourselves.

In order to justify our statement that many Frank writers are ignorant of the true relations and interests of Turkey, we shall make an extract from an opponent of the Moslem: "Our knowledge of Turkey, like that which we possess of most foreign countries, may have been true fifty years ago, and this is the best thing that can be said of it. Exact information as to the real state of foreign countries travels slowly, and we are very much in arrear as to correct views of each other. I wonder how much of this is owing to the wicked nonsense of secret diplomacy; though I would not willingly ask this question in some quarters, lest I should be denounced as an incendiary. '*Lucus a non lucendo*,' says the Latin proverb. Travellers are too fond of repeating books, instead of writing what they see, for us to get at the truth very easily, and few stop long enough in a place to tell us much about it really worth hearing.

"The Greeks are certainly not oppressed *now*, though they may choose to say, or even to think, that they are. Indeed, it would take no very great stretch of imagination, in many places, to suppose them the conquering race, and the Turks the vanquished. The Greeks are rich, the Turks are poor; the one race are learned, the other ignorant; the one lodged in capacious houses, the other in hovels; the one dressed in broad-cloth and fine linen, the other in rags and dirt. * * * The Turks have nothing, do nothing, are nothing, and number here but a fifth of the subject race, who despise, shun, and snub them, whenever they have the shadow of an opportunity." We must here pause a moment to show once more the loose language or ignorance of oracles such as Captain Spencer, who ought to be aware that the population of European Turkey is extremely mixed; that many of the Slavonic race, who compose the majority, are bigoted Mohammedans, and therefore men whom he would style masters; that the Bulgarian Rajas are, like the Turks, examples of Tartar honesty, and that of genuine Greeks there are only 600,000, and those are bastards.

"On returning," proceeds the Captain, "I said something to our host (a Greek) about the intolerable filth of the streets, the certainty that it would breed fevers in hot weather, and the disgust and discomfort it must be at all times. He, of course, began to abuse the Government. I asked why the Greeks did nothing for themselves, but he had no reply: the thought had never occurred to him. I added (referring to a conversation of the previous evening), that if it was power the Greeks wanted, they should show themselves capable of employing it. They already had the power of money, but the results were hardly satisfactory. Europe was ready to judge of them;

and if they really were, as they so loudly asserted, superior to the Turks in the art of government, they had only to make the fact evident for it to be universally acknowledged, and in time they might reap the fruits. As it was, however, we had only assertions; there was no proof. In Mytilene, for instance, at least, they had fair play, for they numbered by far the greater part of the population of the island. The Turks in no way interfered with them, and the scattered individuals of that race, who lived here and there, were held completely aloof. It did not, however, appear that they got on any the better for this. For example, the wine of Kalloni is so excellent, that if it were only well made, it might command a very high price in Europe; but it was not well made. They had at Patmos the utmost facilities for establishing a ship-building trade of considerable importance; yet they had but two small fishing-boats upon the stocks. At Vrissia, they possessed one of the finest shooting-countries in the world; but they shot and trapped game all the year round. They persisted in killing birds during pairing-time, and the result was they had nearly exterminated them altogether, for when they eat one partridge in May or June, they perhaps destroy ten. This fact was evident; yet they did not even take the trouble to make a local game-law, which in due time would bring them crowds of strangers, and plenty of money. Then they possessed an immense quantity of olives of a very fine kind; but the oil they made from them was so bad as to be utterly unsaleable for any but the commonest purposes, and this, merely from the want of a little care and trouble about it. In the numerous bays and creeks which abound in the island, they possessed very valuable fisheries, for the smallest boats could ply on them in all weathers without danger; yet they imported their salt-fish from Smyrna and Constantinople, because they would not learn how to cure it themselves. It was known, also, that the climate of Mytilene was favourable to the growth of oranges and almonds, yet there was scarcely an orange-tree on the island, and they imported their almonds from Scio. They cried out largely about the price of wheat, yet the island did not grow one-fifth of its consumption; and this with plenty of fair land lying waste. The little wheat they grew they did not know how to sow, and would not be taught. They ground it between hand-stones, because they would not build mills, each man being his own miller and baker, to the prejudice of all. In many villages, they would not take the trouble to grow even a potato; where they did grow, they were ignorant of the right method of planting them. In the neighbourhood of Kalloni, and elsewhere, they had miles of good pasturage; but their breed of cattle was one of the worst I had ever seen, though the means of improving it should be known to the smallest farmer. They had wood and stone in abundance, yet they made their houses entirely of wood. They imported even their chairs, and many of the commonest articles of household furniture. They could not even make salt properly; and, with the exception of a very bad soap which was made at Castro and Patmos, they had not a manufactory on the island. They had sheep, but they made no cloth; hides, but they made no leather; wood, but they made no ships; stone, but they would not use it; mines, which they did not work; marble, yet not the art which gives it life; cotton,

which they boiled and eat as it came up ; tobacco, which they would not learn how to cut ; they had more pigs in the island than men, and they were fond of pork, but they did not know how to cure bacon.

“Nor was this the result of ignorance in all cases. When they chose to do anything, they could do it well enough, as was shown by the interior of their churches ; but the fact was, they did not choose, and elsewhere would not make even a pipe-stick properly. They were often, indeed, remarkably learned ; but they would not apply their learning to any useful purpose. They preferred cackling about the problematical glories of two thousand years ago, to lifting a finger for the prosperity of the present.

“But to all this I could get nothing but renewed abuse of the Turks, and sly schemes to get rid of them. The difference between men who pass useful lives and those who do not, seems not so much to lie in excellence of ability, as in promptitude or sluggishness in action ; the one are at work, while the other are dreaming. Now, the fine intellects of the Greeks are all wasted in scheming : they never act.”

Mr. Urquhart has advanced the apparent paradox, that the Turks are the oppressed class in European Turkey, and Captain Spencer offers the following paraphrase on that text :—“The Codgea Bashee of Petra, a Greek, lived in a house that would not be out of place on Richmond Hill. Its marble floors and decorated walls were richly furnished from the looms of Persia, and from the workshops of Paris. The miserable hut of the Turkish Aga might have been placed entire in one room of it. Nor did the mean and poverty-stricken appearance of this Turkish officer in person contrast any more advantageously with the fine broad-cloth, lined with costly furs, the embroidered vest, and other portions of the comfortable and dignified dress of the Greek.

“I inquired the reason of this, and my companion (a Greek) only shrugged his shoulders, and answered that the Aga was but just appointed ; but the truth is that the Greeks are rich and the Turks are poor. They have had bad times since the Tanzimat. They have fallen into the hands of Greek money-lenders and Greek courtezans. The friendship of a Greek man or woman has been the certain ruin of every Turk who has enjoyed it. It is easy to understand the cause. The Turk is naturally full of simplicity and good faith ; the Greek is as sharp, wily, and utterly unprincipled, as centuries of slavery could make him. Now, the remedy which formerly set all to right again has been unwisely abolished since the Tanzimat. A Greek usurer, or pimp, was allowed to glut his avarice with ill-gotten spoils, and then they were comfortably squeezed out of him again. Since the fatal Tanzimat, however, and the indiscreet zeal of those mischievous newspapers, in occupying themselves about what they do not understand, all this has changed colour. The Greek is allowed not only to fill his pockets with the property of his conquerors, but to keep the spoil when he has got it. Even the local Pacha can do nothing to change this disastrous state of things, for he is manacled by a most unmanageable Medjlis, or council, often filled with his own personal enemies. However zealous he may be, therefore, to re-establish a just division of property within his government, the utmost he can do is to wink at a few insignificant abuses of the Agas. Even then,

however, it is likely enough that some pestilent Greek sets off with his ill-gotten money to Smyrna or Constantinople. The whole affair gets into the newspapers, and down comes a fulminating vizierial letter about it. It is no longer of any avail to say that the lies and bad faith of the Greeks are so notorious that their evidence cannot be received in a court of justice; by some means or other, they always succeed in imposing upon somebody, not only to hear, but to protect them.

"Such is the subject of a conversation we have just had with a very amiable Turkish gentleman; and as it represents the feelings of most of his countrymen, it is given entire. On the other hand, the Greeks say that the chiefs of their own communities, the Archbishops and Codgea Bashees, treat them worse than the Turks. The former are notoriously corrupt; they make priests for money, they sell indulgences, and are guilty of some of the worst abuses which were attributed to the Catholic clergy when the trumpet of the Reformation first sounded. The Greek Church is indeed still cherished by the people with a beautiful and wonderful faith, with the belief in good, the reverence for what is sacred, which is always implanted in the deep strong heart of a nation for the worship of their forefathers. But the Greek clergy have incurred the contempt of all educated men, from their extreme ignorance, their bad faith, and the notorious looseness of their lives. As for the Codgea Bashees, their lives are one scene of corruption and impropriety altogether; that is, of course, speaking generally, for there are bright and striking exceptions to this sad censure. To be rightly understood, therefore, it is proper to say that the Codgea Bashees, as a class, are as bad as a class can be."¹

Captain Spencer gives us these further illustrations of the Greek character:—"I never saw so tricky a race anywhere as the Greeks; according to their own proverb, they are 'kneaded up with lies,' from the statesman to the clown." In another place, contrasting the social habits of the Greeks and Turks, he says, "Upon the whole, I preferred the rough hospitality of the Turkish Agas. Indeed, it is impossible for a stranger to help being struck by the stealthy and cat-like ways of the Greeks; they are always full of secrecy and intrigues, the highest and the lowest of them, and often about the merest trifles."²

We have next to consider the remarks of partisans of Russia on the Turkish army in Asia.

One of these writers describes them as a set of cowards, one and all, though admitting that they inflicted heavy losses on the Russians, and that their artillery was admirably served. He attempts to account for the successes of the Osmanlis, under Omar Pacha, by affirming that most of his troops are Egyptians. Another writer, in a paper of European celebrity, in an article containing almost as many fallacies as words, asserts that the Turkish army in Armenia was saved from destruction, after its defeats at Indjedere and Kurukdere, by a diversion of Schamyl.

With regard to the first writer, it will be a sufficient reply to re-

¹ United Service Magazine, July 1854, pp. 407, 408.

² Ibid., June 1854, pp. 221, 222.

mark that the army of Omar Pacha on the Danube consists of 170,000 men, of whom 15,000 are Egyptians ; hence the majority do not exactly consist of that nation. Secondly, the Russian dragoons, as we have seen, were destroyed at the battle of Kurukdere ; and, without cavalry, we do not see how the Russians could do much farther mischief to the Turks. Thirdly, when the Ottoman army advanced on the retreat of Prince Beboutoff, they counted 3000 Russian corpses. This was a strange loss with cowardly opponents !

As regards Schamyl and Circassia, the same article of September 23d, to which we have before alluded, takes advantage of the pretended disclosures of two British travellers, reported to have returned from Circassia to Constantinople, to circulate numerous exaggerated statements. We shall take the present opportunity of exposing these dangerous errors, that our countrymen may not place implicit confidence in the *facts* of some popular writers.

The article in question proceeds to inform its readers that Schamyl is not the leader of the Circassians, but of a people invented in a garret or printing-office, and yclept Tcherceses. Every man moderately versed in the Eastern Question is aware that the followers of Schamyl are the Tschetschensians. The article continues, that we cannot help admiring these mountaineers, though they are a very ferocious set, because they defend their country so bravely. As respects their ferocity, we simply refer our readers to another work, where we have described the cruelty and brutality of Muscovite officers and soldiers to Circassian girls, contrasted with the gentle treatment of Cossack women captured by the mountaineers.¹ Ere we drop the article, we must notice the remark that Schamyl is now an old man. It happens that he is in his full maturity, being considerably younger than the Emperor of all the Russias ; and if the hero-prophet is called a veteran, we must regard our Raglans, Dundases, and Napiers, as antediluvian patriarchs.

Nor can we avoid noticing two painful themes in connection with Schamyl. Some papers have teemed with repeated rumours of plans for reducing the Caucasian isthmus under the Porte, or under a Protectorate. Both would be odious to the clansmen, and opposed to the death ; for Turkish rule, under diplomatic tutelage, would be as unpopular as Russian slavery. Injudicious attempts have also been made to abolish the slave-trade in Circassia by British agents. All familiar with the subject know that slavery in Turkey is often better than liberty in some countries,² and that the purchase of girls for Turkish men of rank was no more disreputable than that of the daughters of England during a season in May Fair. No stronger evidence of the propriety and necessity of the practice could be found than the fact that it was tolerated by Prince Woronzoff. Hence, what a Russian governor and nobleman was liberal enough to countenance, British philanthropists attempt to abolish. We cannot be surprised that Schamyl rejects any aid, and the author appears to be correct in asserting, that an exchange of the sway of Muscovy for that of Western diplomacy is viewed with dislike by the Circassians.

¹ Russia and England.

² See our "Turkey Past and Present."

CHAPTER IV.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE WAR IN THE BALTIC.

THE principal operations of the British arms in connection with the Baltic consist of the bombardment of Hango by Sir Charles Napier (May 1854), the defeat of Gamla Karleby, and the *destruction* of the forts on the Aland Islands, *after* the arrival of French troops.

The principal part of the magnificent Baltic fleet sailed from England, March 1854, after being reviewed by Her Majesty. It was commanded by Sir Charles Napier, whom the nation trusted and loved as a specimen of a true British seaman, and whose natural gallantry appears slightly tempered by the caution of age.

The main body of the fleet reached Kiel Bay about the 30th of March, having passed through the Great Belt, and it remained at anchor, or cruising about near the coasts of Denmark and Prussia for a considerable time, an object of wonder and delight to pleasure-parties of worthy Danes and timid Germans, but without having any effect on the Danish or Prussian Governments, probably for very good reasons. Indeed, the reception of Sir Charles by the King of Denmark was cool, if not insulting.

We shall not profess to chronicle all the vicissitudes of the Baltic campaign. Many prizes were taken, but they were chiefly Finnish property, and salt formed their invariable cargo. A very humane blockade was carried on, for the trade of Russia was continued in neutral bottoms, owing to the leniency of our Government; and Prussia here, as in all other cases, was a useful tool to protect the Czar from injury by forwarding exports and imports to any amount through the port of Memel.

To excuse the inactivity of Napier, it has been stated that the navigation of the Baltic was intricate and imperfectly known; but others reply that the Admiralty was well aware of the shallowness of the water, and that it was injudicious to send such a heavy fleet to the Baltic unaccompanied by efficient gun-boats and lighter craft.

After cruising about the coasts of Denmark and Sweden, and visiting Stockholm, the fleet reached the waters of the Gulf of Finland at last, but it did scarcely anything, except sound and cruise before the arrival of the French squadron.¹

It was not till the 30th of May that the papers announced the bombardment of Hango, an island near the mouth of the Gulf, on the coast of Finland. Three steam-frigates were said to have destroyed

¹ The strength of Napier's fleet, which German writers correctly describe as the finest that ever floated, amounted to forty-four ships, with 2200 guns, 16,000 horse power, and 22,000 men. He had under his orders Rear-Admirals Corry and Plumridge, Vice-Admiral Parceval-Deschenes brought an addition of ten ships-of-the-line, fourteen frigates, and fifteen corvettes, to their Allies, thus forming an overwhelming force in the hands of an earnest and able coalition.

the detached forts of Hango, with a loss of three English killed, and a few wounded. The Admiralty published, June 2d, the account of this important affair, when it appeared from Napier's despatch that the Arrogant, forty-six guns, and Hecla, six guns, Captain W. H. Hall, on the 20th May, chased and attacked a Russian bark under the fort of Ekness, near Hango, and fired at the fort at the distance of 350 yards. The fort was silenced, some men were landed, some Russian guns taken, and the ships returned, prize in tow. The Hecla was a good deal injured, four men were killed, and six wounded. Meanwhile the Dragon, six guns, Captain Wilson, reconnoitered Revel, and brought off a prize under the guns of the fortress. Soon after this, the Dragon, Basilisk, and Magicienne, anchored 1500 yards from the fort of Gustafsvärn, and kept up a constant bombardment for two hours. The enemy returned the fire slowly, but aimed well. Little damage, however, appears to have been done on either side, and we hear that the Russians have just blown up this fort.

British seamen, as far as they had opportunity, had supported their old character for valour in these engagements. But we must now turn to more painful scenes in the Gulf of Bothnia, where rashness or improvidence led to signal disasters, and where we suffered our first defeat.

Before the French fleet had joined Napier, a squadron was detached by our Admiral to examine and threaten the coast of Finland up the Gulf of Bothnia. It was placed under the command of Rear-Admiral Plumridge. Its first achievements consisted in the destruction of an immense quantity of property, to the injury chiefly of Finnish subjects. This operation is thus described by Sir Charles Napier:—

DUKE OF WELLINGTON, BARO SOUND,
June 18th, 1854.

SIR,—I beg leave to enclose Admiral Plumridge's report of his proceedings in the Gulf of Bothnia, from the 5th May to the 10th June, by which their Lordships will observe that he has destroyed forty-six vessels, afloat and on the stocks, amounting to 11,000 tons; from 40,000 to 50,000 barrels of pitch and tar; 60,000 square-yards of rough pitch; a great number of stacks of timber-spars, plank, and deals, sails, rope, and various kinds of naval stores, to the amount of from £300,000 to £400,000, without the loss of a man. Admiral Plumridge has had to contend with innumerable rocks and shoals, incorrectly laid down in the charts, and met the ice up to the 30th May; nevertheless, though several of the squadron touched the ground, I am happy to say they have received no damage that he is not able to repair with his own means. The Rear-Admiral, their Lordships will observe, speaks in the highest terms of the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, and particularly of Lieutenant B. P. Priest, the first lieutenant of the Leopard, an old and deserving officer, and of Lieutenant Hammet, his flag-lieutenant.—I have, &c.

CHARLES NAPIER,
Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.

The Secretary of the Admiralty.

The unfortunate towns on which the vials of Admiral Plumridge's wrath were poured out, were Brahestadt and Uleaborg in Finland, on the Gulf of Bothnia. The damage, which was certainly considerable, fell chiefly on Finnish property, alienated the Fins from us, and raised an outcry against us in Russia. Though we cannot boast of captured flags and cannon, and honourable wounds, our present war has inflicted serious injury on industry and trade in the Baltic.

The French fleet was in Kiel Bay, May 21st, and consisted of the following ships:—

Ships-of-the-line.		Guns.	Men.
Inflexible (flag-ship)	.....	92 ...	950
Duguesclin	.....	92 ...	950
Gemappes	.....	92 ...	950
Hercule	.....	92 ...	950
Tage	.....	92 ...	950
Breslau	.....	86 ...	890
Trident	.....	80 ...	700
Duperré	.....	80 ...	700
Frigates.			
Andromaque	.....	60 ...	500
Poursuivant	.....	50 ...	450
Virginie	.....	50 ...	450
Zenobie	.....	50 ...	450
Steam Sloops.		Horse Power.	
Darien	.....	450 ...	14 ... 250
Souffleur	.....	200 ...	6 ... 150
Lucifer	.....	200 ...	6 ... 150

To these were soon after added the

Frigates.		
Semillante	.....	} about 50 guns each.
Vengeance	.....	
Psyche	.....	

Steamers.		Horse Power.
Phlegeton	.....	400
Milan	.....	200
Aigle	.....	200
Dain	.....	120

Besides the St. Louis, of 100 guns.

The whole force was estimated as consisting of 938 guns and 11,640 men; and when all had joined, at 1200 guns and 14,100 men. The most efficient ship was the Duguesclin, under Centre-Admiral Tinant, in which the crew had served upwards of fifteen months; most of the men in the other ships were young, and of a mixed description.

Since the arrival of Napier's fleet in the waters of the Gulf of Bothnia, it had received continual accessions, and presented at length a most imposing and tremendous force.

On the 20th of June, it comprised the following ships:—

The Duke of Wellington, 131 guns, with the flag of the Commander-in-Chief, Vice-Admiral Napier, Captain Gordon, and Rear-Admiral M. Seymour.
 St. Jean d'Acre, 100 guns, Captain the Hon. H. Keppel.
 Princess Royal, 91 guns (screw), Captain Lord C. Paget.

Cæsar, 90 guns (screw), Captain Robb.
 Nile, 90 guns (screw), Commodore H. B. Martin, C. B.
 Cressy, 80 guns (screw), Captain Warren.
 Majestic, 80 guns (screw), Captain Hope, C. B.
 James Watt, 91 guns (screw), Captain G. Elliot.
 Edinburgh, 60 guns (screw), Captain Hewlett, flag of Rear-Admiral
 Chads, C. B.
 Blenheim, 60 guns (screw), Captain Hon. T. Pelham.
 Hague, 60 guns (screw), Captain Ramsay.
 Imperieux, 51 guns (screw), Captain Watson, C. B.
 Penelope, 18 guns (paddle), Commander Caffin.
 Magicienne, 16 guns (paddle), Captain Fisher.
 Gorgon, 6 guns (paddle), Commander Cracroft.

The Rear-Admiral was left at this time to blockade Sweaborg with the following force :—

Neptune, 120 guns, Captain Hatton.
 St. George, 120 guns, Captain Eyres, C. B.
 Prince Regent, 90 guns, Captain Smith.
 Monarch, 84 guns, Captain Erskine.
 Boscawen, 70 guns, Captain Glanville.
 Cumberland, 70 guns, Captain Seymour.
 Ajax, 60 guns (screw), Captain Warden.
 Bulldog, 6 guns (paddle), Captain W. K. Hall.

To these we have to add a force of screws and paddles in the Gulf of Bothnia, under Rear-Admiral Plumridge, consisting of the Leopard, Hecla, and many crack ships.

Soon after, we heard of the disaster at Gamla Karleby. The Vulture, six guns, Captain Glasse, and the Odin, sixteen guns (paddle), Captain Scott, had been ordered to reconnoitre and attack Gamla Karleby, with the view of damaging Finnish property again. But the Russians and Finlanders had prepared an ambush: 150 men were landed from three boats, but they were attacked by sharpshooters and a masked-battery of five guns, and repulsed or sunk. Lieutenant Carrington, a midshipman, a mate, and three men, fell; two officers and fourteen men were wounded. One boat was lost. Twenty-eight men and one mate were taken by the Russians.

Certain veteran officers, who are familiar with the annals of our navy, appear to be somewhat surprised at this episode. They seem scarcely to recognise the sons of the old sea-dogs and Vikings, once the terror of the main, who proudly swept the sea of every foe, and dared every inlet and river where a foe was to be encountered.

We have heard a variety of opinions on the danger of bombarding and attacking stone walls with ships; but if the reader wishes an illustration from the past, let him read Admiral Blake's daring cannonade of the forts of Tunis, which brought the Bey to our feet; let him read Exmouth's exploit at Algiers, which brought the Dey to his senses, and he will be able to judge the case for himself. But many are of opinion that Cromwell was a man of decision, and that our old Tory governments, with all their faults, were never wanting in patriotism and English feeling.

As the disaster of Gamla Karleby is an exceptional case in the history of our navy, which has not often encountered disaster, dis-

grace, and defeat, we shall pause a little longer, while we present a full account of the affair, as described by the officer who commanded the boats.

HER MAJESTY'S SHIP VULTURE,
June 8, 1854.

SIR,—I have the honour to report to you that, in obedience to your orders, I proceeded with the boats of Her Majesty's ships Vulture and Odin, towards Gamla Karleby.

Having anchored the boats in the line abreast, their guns pointed towards the beach, I landed in the gig with a flag of truce, for the purpose of communicating with some persons whom I found on the adjacent shore. The flag was duly received, and I addressed one who styled himself the Burgomaster, demanding that all the property of the Emperor of Russia should be given up to me, and that on this condition, in compliance with Admiral Plumridge's notice, the town and private property would be respected. Not being able to receive a satisfactory answer, and assistance in communicating with the Governor being denied me, re-embarked, and directing Lieutenant Carrington to proceed ahead, in a boat of light draught, to sound, ordered the boats to weigh and form in two lines, abreast; but before this was executed, the enemy's fire, from storehouses on our right, opened with field-pieces and musketry, which was promptly returned by our guns and small-arms.

The enemy being in great force, and rapidly increasing, their position well chosen, and protected among wood and houses, behind which they were completely concealed, and from which they poured a most destructive fire, I deemed it expedient to withdraw the boats, and accordingly made the signal for the general recall.

I did not, however, accomplish this without the loss of the paddle-box boat of this ship, which was destroyed by the enemy's fire; and it is with sorrow I contemplate the severe loss of officers and men we have sustained. Lieutenant Carrington, of the Odin, fell while in the act of carrying out my orders. His boat, a cutter, was the object of the enemy's first fire, by which she had eleven struck down, and gave us first notice of their proximity. Mr. N. J. Morplay, mate, in charge of the Vulture's paddle-box boat, I observed encouraging his crew with great gallantry. Mr. C. F. F. Montague (mate), Odin, I am sorry to say, fell mortally wounded while most gallantly doing his duty in the paddle-box boat of that ship. I have to add that the conduct of every officer and man was most exemplary. I cannot close this report without mentioning my approbation of the cool and praiseworthy conduct of Lieutenants Madden and Fellowes, who commanded the other two boats with guns.—I am, &c.

(Signed) CHAS. A. WISE,
Senior Lieutenant of H.M.S. Vulture.

Capt. F. H. H. GLASSE,
H.M.S. Vulture.

After the disaster at Gamla Karleby, little was accomplished till the French troops arrived. Almost every telegraphic message announced that Admiral Napier had sailed up to Cronstadt, and was

about to attack it. The nation was breathless with expectation; but its hopes were disappointed. The cholera had appeared; and some men having died, it was thought expedient to retreat.

At length Baraguay d'Hilliers arrived with 10,000 French troops, and it was expected that Cronstadt or Sweaborg were on the eve of being taken. It was evident that something must be done; and to satisfy the expectations at home, at the same time that it smote Russia, the Ministry decreed that Bomarsund should be taken. This happened, unfortunately, before our expedition sailed for the Crimea, so that some of the troops which had been kept in the north of Russia throughout the summer, to meet the threatened attack, were able to march south in time to assist and relieve the forces occupied in defending the Crimea. This plan of operations devised by the Allies, though obnoxious to criticism, led to successful results in the Baltic, which we must now attempt to relate; and as we describe the episode of the capture of Bomarsund, let the reader reflect that the ruins of three towers on an archipelago of rocky islets, and 2000 prisoners under an octogenarian general, have been the trophies of the Baltic campaign of six months.

The group of the Aland Islands, lying about twenty-five miles from the coast of Sweden, and fifteen miles from that of Finland, in the Gulf of Bothnia, is known to the Fins by the name of "Ahvenanmaa." It consists of no less than 80 inhabited, and 200 uninhabited islets, the largest of which is about eighteen miles in length, by fourteen in breadth. On this island the fortress of Bomarsund has been constructed by the Russians within the last twenty years, and it is here that the French army of the Baltic, supported by the marines of the British fleet, was engaged in the first important operation of the war. The fortress itself is said to be large enough to shelter an army of 60,000 men, within the range of its guns; and we are assured that 10,000 labourers were employed in the construction of the works during that portion of the year when it is possible to build in so severe a climate. It is certain that the place was one of considerable extent and strength, capable of containing a large garrison. The principal fortress consisted of a double tier of semi-circular casemated batteries, fronting the sea, mounting at least eighty heavy guns; but this fort did not appear to be armed on the land-side. At a distance of about a thousand yards from the principal fortress, and from the shore, were three mounds or hillocks, two of which were fortified as detached works, mounting about twenty guns each.

On the 11th, about 12,000 French and English soldiers and marines commenced erecting batteries before the fortress to cover the assailants. For this purpose, besides the siege-artillery brought from France, a number of heavy guns were sent up from the Duke of Wellington, and other ships, and dragged a distance of three miles from the landing-place. On the 12th of August, the besieged attempted a sortie, in the hope of interrupting the works, but they were repulsed and driven back into the forts. On the 15th, the most considerable part of the two flanking towers, above alluded to, was taken after a resistance of four hours; and the scaling-ladders were prepared for a general assault on the ensuing day. On the

16th, the third tower was taken, and the garrison had no longer any prospect of relief or reinforcement; all the approaches to the island being vigilantly guarded by steam-ships and armed boats.

The *Penelope* got aground within range of the forts, and was fired upon for three and a half hours, but was not much hurt. The small ships went to her assistance, and drew attention upon themselves. The *Pigmy's* mainmast was shot away. The *Hecla* had several shots in her: they fired red-hot shot. A battery opened upon the *Amphion* and *Phlegethon*, which they silenced almost immediately. The *Penelope* had to throw everything overboard before she would float.

On Wednesday, the 16th, the French batteries advanced considerably nearer to the face of the fort, and kept up an incessant fire; the heavy guns in the six-gun battery, served by the English under Captain Pelham, did great execution; the large blocks of granite that formed the face of the fort, and which in appearance offered an immense resistance, fell out in masses, and the rubble with which the wall was filled in, tumbled out in heaps.

The *Edinburgh*, the *Ajax*, and the steamers, fired at long range on the Bomarsund fortress, while, at the same time, the *Leopard* attacked the fort of Presto, on the other side of the narrow channel. At half-past twelve, a flag of truce was held out at an embrasure of Bomarsund towards the fleet; a boat, with an officer, was sent on shore, and shortly after, the Governor surrendered.

General Bodisco is an old man, apparently eighty years of age. He was very anxious that the French General-in-Chief should certify that he had done his duty. General Baraguay d'Hilliers returned the Russian General's sword, and, at the same time, extolled the valour with which he had defended his trust, and the prudence which had surrendered it when further resistance could have done no more than cause a useless loss of life. The Russian General then sent a priest to the officer in command of Presto Fort, with orders to surrender. The order was obeyed: thus the four forts of Bomarsund fell into the possession of the Allies.

We have only to add, that every vestige of the works at Bomarsund has been destroyed by the Allies before evacuating the place, where they found plans of the Russian Government for establishing a most formidable arsenal and fortress in the Aland archipelago.

When the Baltic fleet sailed in the spring, the *Times* pronounced it the most magnificent naval armament that ever floated. After observing considerable discretion many weeks, under "Old Charlie," in whom the nation placed implicit trust, it received the accession of a splendid French squadron, and in August it was joined by a body of 10,000 French troops, under General Baraguay d'Hilliers.

The reader has been informed of the results of the Baltic campaign. The French troops are returning. Sir Charles has been erroneously announced as on the eve of departing; the ice is fast closing up the northern seas, and if anything be attempted, it will be at great risk, and too late to effect any good.

Certain cynical writers ask if the nation is satisfied with the achievements of the Baltic campaign? It spent its money freely, expecting some return, and the only important advantage that has been gained has been neutralized, by blowing up instead of retaining

Bomarsund. This has shown Sweden that we are not resolute, and confirmed her in her neutrality. We are asked if these things would have happened in the time of Wellington and Nelson, or if Napoleon would have been satisfied with such triumphs? Mutinous officers pronounce that if Napier was hampered by his instructions, he should have disobeyed them, and the nation would have acquitted him. Nelson, at Copenhagen, would not obey the signal to retire, and he gained the victory. Napoleon gained all his great triumphs by lightning speed; but caution and discretion have marked our Baltic campaign throughout. Wellington defeated his foe directly he reached the enemy's shore; Napier suffered some losses soon after he entered the Gulf of Bothnia, and his principal trophies were the destruction of commercial and private property.

The Admiralty must now be aware of the depth of water in the Gulf of Finland, and to send our heaviest ships to a place where they could not sail, would be injudicious.

It is commonly thought that the results of this Baltic campaign have been insignificant, and the people of England must have lost all respect for themselves and the Crown, if they do not seek to retrieve our past omissions by more decisive measures in the future. Notwithstanding the successful termination of the expedition to the Crimea, it is thought by many that the operation would have been even more effective, and at a less cost of blood and treasure, if a powerful diversion could be made in the Baltic. Hence the measures of the Admiralty in the year 1854 will be an instructive page in the annals of the British navy.

By October 31st, the greater part of the Baltic fleet had arrived at Kiel, but did not appear to excite much interest among the Danes, who were engaged in parliamentary and general resistance to the arbitrary and unpatriotic measures of the Court and the Russian party.

During the voyage from the Gulf of Finland, the fleet was assailed by a succession of south-west gales, many of the ships dispersed, and ran imminent risk of getting on shore; but all were safely moored at the end of October in the commodious port of Kiel, where forty sail of the line may lie at anchor, completely sheltered from every wind.

During their stay in the Danish waters, the officers of the fleet received permission to visit Berlin and Hamburgh; and we are informed that Sir Charles Napier went over to the old Hanseatic capital, where he was the unobserved of all observers.

Towards the end of November, when the Gulf of Finland is frozen over, the fleet was to leave for England. Having passed through the Great Belt, each ship was to make the best course it could for the British shores, irrespective of stations, or keeping in company with the Commander-in-chief. The weather in the Baltic was frosty, but fine, and the squadron healthy at the beginning of November.

Though the Russians have been effectually sealed up in their ports, and the successes in the White Sea, where *Kola*, the capital of Russian Lapland, was bombarded and burned, have been brilliant and decisive, there seems to be a general feeling of disappointment in England, and in the fleets, that something more glorious has not been effected with such a magnificent squadron as that of Admiral Napier.

PART V.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE CRIMEA.

THE Allied armies had been detained at or near Varna for several months, and were weakened by an unhealthy climate and the visitation of the cholera. The men bore up patiently against these and other inflictions, inseparable from war; but a certain feeling of vexation and despondency seems to have prevailed in the camps, especially amongst the officers. The Governments of England and France, and their commanders in the East, appear to have thought it necessary or expedient to delay operations till the autumn; and though many rumours of the sailing of the expedition reached England in the month of August, no official announcement of any movement had been received in London before the second week in September.

Yet there is some cause to believe that this delay was necessary, in order to secure the speedy and complete success of the expedition; though it must be admitted, on the other hand, that it gave enough time to the Russians to make formidable preparations, and to draw reinforcements from the north and from Moldavia. Certain it is, that the armament which ultimately left Varna for the Crimea was not provided with a large body of cavalry, and was unable to bring the siege-guns along with it. It must be admitted that this was a critical period in the war. The Turks had manfully resisted the Russians at Silistria and in the Caucasus; but the Allied armies had not yet drawn a trigger, and the continuance of the wavering and doubtful policy of the German courts was mainly dependent on the vigour and decision of our councils and arms.

The Baltic campaign, though important in several respects as sealing up the Russian fleet, occupying a large land-force, and destroying Bomarsund, had not produced any brilliant achievement; and the large and small states of Germany continued uncertain and unsound in their policy, because they still felt doubtful of the issue of the war, and of the resolution of the Allies.

Thirty-five years of peace had elapsed since the Great Powers of Europe had measured their strength in mortal conflict, and many errors had passed current throughout the continent, and even in England, in the interval, tending to tarnish or neutralize the reputation of the English army for gallantry. Though we had displayed no

common heroism on the Sutledge, the scene of these triumphs was remote, and the foe consisted of Asiatics; and a large part of the population of Europe were inclined to believe that the English army had been saved from destruction at Waterloo by the arrival of the Prussians.¹ Even in Great Britain, the language of the Peace Society, and the unpatriotic admissions of a certain party, had contributed to give some sanction to reports unfavourable to the military spirit and inborn gallantry of the English army.

Happily, the time at length arrived when those calumnies or misrepresentations were to be signally refuted. An English army was, for the first time in history, to fight side by side with a French force, the hostile rivalry of these chivalrous troops being at length merged in a friendly emulation.

The Commanders of the Allied armies were enabled at length to issue orders for their superb force to prepare for embarkation. The troops, enfeebled by disease, rapidly recovered their spirits on hearing this animating intelligence, and marched down with light hearts to Varna or Baltschik, and the neighbourhood.

The office of superintending and arranging the embarkation was conferred upon Sir Edmund Lyons, who appears to have won the esteem and admiration of both branches of the service by his activity and vigilance. Indeed, though the fleets, in the earlier part of the campaign, were prevented by unfortunate circumstances from sharing in the glory and laurels of the fight, they showed their admirable spirit and devotedness by their efficiency and energy in transporting the troops and assisting the wounded.

Those who witnessed the embarkation at Varna describe it as a most imposing spectacle. Upwards of 55,000 British, French, and Turkish troops, were received on board or escorted by a naval armament of 700 sail, endowed with all the appliances of steam and modern science; and it may be safely averred, that no comparable armada had ever floated on the waters since the days of creation.

The exact strength of the British army that embarked for the Crimea was estimated at 27,000, in September. The infantry consisted of the 3d battalion Grenadier Guards, and the 2d battalion of the Coldstream and Scots Fusilier Guards, the 1st battalion of the 1st Royals, the 4th, 7th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 23d, 28th, 30th, 33d, 38th, 41st, 42d, 44th, 47th, 49th, 50th, 55th, 63d, 77th, 79th, 88th, 93d, 95th, and 97th regiments, and the 1st and 2d battalions of the Rifle Brigade. The cavalry consisted of the 4th and 5th Dragoon Guards, the 1st, 2d, and 6th Dragoons, the 8th and 11th Hussars, the 17th Lancers, and the 13th Light Dragoons.²

¹ In Germany, most historians claim the merit of the victory at Waterloo for the Prussians. In France, Baron Gourgaud's work claims the victory for the French; and this opinion is advocated by writers of the first eminence, such as the historian Michelet, and the philosopher Cousin. Chateaubriand and Lamartine are more impartial than most of their countrymen; and Jules Maurel, in his work on the Duke of Wellington, translated by the author, gives an admirable example of fairness.

² The brigade of heavy cavalry only joined after the battle of the Alma. Besides the force in the text, there was a suitable number of batteries of horse and foot artillery.

The expedition to the Crimea sailed from Varna on the 8th of September, and, after being detained on the passage for some days by adverse winds and various delays, arrived off the western coast of the peninsula on the 15th.

Ere we proceed to record the episodes that have marked this memorable campaign, we shall first present the reader with an analysis of the British contingent; and, secondly, of the topography of the Crimea, so far as it is connected with the movements of the troops and fleets. The British army conveyed to the Tauridan peninsula consisted of four divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, amounting to a grand total of about 30,000 men.

The Light Division, commanded by Sir George Brown, comprised the 19th, 88th, and 23d Royal Fusiliers, the 77th, 33d, and 7th regiments, with some batteries of horse-artillery, the whole embarked in eighteen vessels.¹ The First Division, under His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, consisted of the 79th, 42d, and 93d Highlanders, and one battalion of the Scots Fusiliers, Coldstream and Grenadier Guards, each numbering 1000 men.

The Second Division, commanded by Sir De Lacy Evans, embraced the 30th, 55th, 47th, and 41st regiments. The Third Division, under Sir Richard England, consisted of the 38th, 50th, and 1st Royals, 44th, 28th, 4th, and 68th, besides some of the siege-train. The Fourth Division, under Sir George Cathcart, consisted of the 21st, 63d, 20th, 46th, and 1st battalion of Rifles. The Cavalry Division, commanded by the Earl of Lucan, consisted of two brigades. The Light Brigade, under Lord Cardigan, was the only part of the cavalry that accompanied the earlier episodes of the campaign, and consisted of the 17th Lancers, the 8th and 11th Hussars, the 4th Light Dragoons, and some batteries of the Royal Horse Artillery. The Heavy Brigade, which arrived in the Crimea subsequently, consisted of the 14th Light Dragoons, the 4th Dragoons, two regiments of Dragoon Guards, and the Scots' Greys.

The French force was estimated at 23,000, and the Turkish at 7000 men.

It was on the 15th September, early in the morning, that this mighty armament anchored off the beach, a short distance to the south-east of Eupatoria; and before we disembark the troops, we will proceed to give a brief outline of the principal distances and positions in this part of the peninsula.

Eupatoria, the town near which the Allies landed, is forty-six miles from Sympheropol by the road, and the latter place is thirty-nine miles from Fort Constantine, at Sebastopol. The distance of Sympheropol from the sea is twenty-five miles.

There are two roads branching out from Eupatoria: one follows the coast, at the distance of about three miles from the sea; the other runs ten miles and a half farther inland. By the coast-road it is thirty-five miles from Eupatoria to Fort Constantine; and it is necessary to cross three small rivers by the way, the Alma, the Katcha, and the Belbek. Sympheropol is covered to the east by the line of the Salghir and its tributaries. Perekop, on the isthmus of the

¹ Four companies of the Rifle Brigade formed the advance of the Light Division.

peninsula, is ninety miles from Sympheropol, Karasu-Bazar thirty, Staroi Krim thirty more, and Kaffa fifteen, in all seventy-five miles from Sympheropol.¹ For a description of Sebastopol, the reader is referred to Part II. p. 126, and to a future page of this chapter. It only remains for us to add, that Balaklava, a small land-port, which will figure largely in our narrative, takes its name from the Italian Bellachiave, because the Genoese had a settlement and built a castle there. The Greeks appear to have conferred upon it the synonymous appellation of *καλος λιμην*. This remarkable port is situated on the south coast of the peninsula, to the east of Sebastopol; and though only large enough to admit about twelve sail of the line, is sheltered from every wind, and so deep, that the largest ships can anchor close in-shore. It labours, however, under the disadvantage of having an entrance only thirty yards in width, though it widens afterwards to 1400.

When the majestic fleet had anchored off the coast near Eupatoria, which is in this part low, with a few insignificant brackish lakes, called *limans*, and some low ranges of cliffs, the landing took place on the morning of the 15th September, on a beach forming a kind of causeway between the surf and a lake. This causeway is described as 200 yards broad, joining at its southern end a sloping table-land, covered with tumuli, and extending to the base of a singularly-shaped chain of hills, called the Tent Mountains. This low coast runs as far as the eye can reach to the mountains near Sebastopol. The country presented stubble-fields, covered with wild lavender, affording good fuel for the troops. About seven A.M. on the 15th, most of the fleet was abreast of the shore, forming a stupendous line, nine miles in length; and the French began to disembark soon after, by the signal being given by a gun from Admiral Hamelin's flag-ship. It is reported that in twenty minutes they had landed 6000 men; and the first who stepped on shore raised a pole on the beach, with a tri-color flying gaily at the top. About nine o'clock, the signal was made for the British to land, the 7th Fusileers and 2d battalion of Rifles being the first of our army who stepped on shore, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonels Yea and Laurence. Soon after this, Sir George Brown disembarked; and whilst making a reconnaissance, with a small escort, ran some risk of being captured by a few straggling Cossacks, who were observing the landing, and were the only Russian force in sight.

After the lapse of a short interval, the Light and First Divisions were safely landed, through the admirable arrangements of the navy, and the activity of the seamen, who dashed half or wholly naked into the surf, and helped the men and horses on shore, as though it were some merry sport. The Duke of Cambridge was among the first of the general officers who landed, and Sir De Lacy Evans was disembarked with the Second Division by half-past ten. Meanwhile, a detachment of light troops and skirmishers had been pushed ahead from both armies to scour the country; and, at an early hour, the

¹ "Captain Spencer represents Kaffa (Theodosia) lying at the north-east end of the peninsula, at 130 miles from Sebastopol."—*United Service Magazine for September*, p. 51.

French tirailleurs had spread out like a fan, and almost vanished from sight in the interior, without encountering any opposition.

By twelve o'clock, that barren and usually lonely beach was bristling with steeled warriors. The sailors were highly commended by all who witnessed the care, attention, and energy they displayed in the difficult service of landing such a large force, for there was some surf on the beach, notwithstanding the favourable state of the weather. The arrangements of Sir Edmund Lyons were described as having been beyond praise. The Light Division left the beach at one o'clock, the 2d battalion of Rifles leading the way, and Captain Anderson, with the artillery, bringing up the rear. Meanwhile the debarkation continued long after sunset, the Third and Fourth Divisions being landed chiefly in the course of the night. These troops were obliged to remain on the beach and neighbouring hills throughout the night. The Tartar country-people soon showed themselves very friendly, especially to the British, and readily brought in provisions; but the Spahis in the French service are represented as having indulged rather too freely in their Algerine practice of making *razzias* on flocks and herds.

Whilst these episodes were occurring near the Staroe Ukriplenoe, or Old Fort, a force of steamers was detached from the fleet to disturb the repose of a camp of 6000 Russians, situated near the mouth of the Alma. Most of the shots fired by the steamers fell short; but the seamen having obtained the correct range, pitched shell after shell into the midst of the Russians, knocking over their tents, and driving them from their encampment.

The first night passed on shore by the British troops was miserable, as the rain poured down in torrents, and they had no tents. The French, whose tents are lighter, had landed theirs, and the Turks were also provided with this seasonable shelter; but our men having no protection but greatcoats and blankets, were soon soaked to the skin, and many cases of sickness arose, or were aggravated in consequence. The Duke of Cambridge and Sir George Brown are said to have passed the night under a cart, tilted over; and Sir De Lacy Evans was the only officer fortunate enough to have a tent, for it was a great object with the Allies to have as few impediments as possible, and the British officers carried a supply of beef and biscuits for three days in their kits.

The 16th is described as having been a rough day, with a good deal of surf on the beach, yet the hardy and active seamen managed to land the horses, with very small loss. As soon as a sufficient amount of cavalry could be mustered, Lord Cardigan started on a reconnaissance with some light troops, and explored the interior without meeting any foes. They travelled twenty-five miles, found no water, and returned very fatigued. This occurred on the 17th, in the course of which all the artillery and the remainder of the cavalry were landed. During these operations, it was resolved to secure a base of operations and prevent surprisal by occupying the town of Eupatoria, and some ships being detached from the fleet, landed 400 marines, who took possession of the place without any opposition on the part of the inhabitants; the civil governor or mayor delivering up his sword to the commanding-officer of our force.

Captain Spencer describes Eupatoria, or Koslof, as a large Tartar town, offering an excellent position for the debarkation of troops; it is situated at the extremity of that fine plain or steppe which gradually slopes down in an undulating line from the high lands around Sebastopol, and the mountains on the south coast.¹

Russian official statistics represent the first portion of the Tauric peninsula as extending from the isthmus of Perekop towards the south across the Salghir, as far as the sand-banks of Arabat to the east, comprises the districts of Eupatoria and Perekop, and a part of Theodosia. This portion of the country is a level steppe plateau, having neither forests nor springs; it is covered with thin grass, salt marshes, and numerous marine shells, found either on the surface, or lying under the first strata of the soil.²

The spot selected for the landing of the expedition, which was effected on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of September, was the neighbourhood of the Old Fort, in Russian called *Staroe Ukriplenoe*, situated in latitude 45° north. The Old Fort is represented as situated at the distance of thirty miles north of Sebastopol, and twenty miles south of Eupatoria. The exact spot where the Allies landed was near a lake or pond called Kamichti, the debarkation of the French taking place near the *Staroe Ukriplenoe*.

The Allied armies being safely landed, prepared to march on the Alma, the first stream they had to encounter on the road to Sebastopol, flowing through a woody ravine, studded with houses, and having steep declivities on the left bank, which were strongly intrenched, and covered with heavy guns. It was reported that the river could only be passed in three places, and our troops actually found it to be breast-high. So carefully had the Russians prepared to receive the Allies, that they are reported to have marked the distances and range of the guns by sticks artificially placed on the side where the British and French armies were expected to advance.

The French and English troops moved out of their encampment in the Crimea on the 19th, and bivouacked for the night on the left bank of the Bulganac. The advance of the British was supported by the Earl of Cardigan's brigade of light cavalry, which encountered a large body of Russian dragoons and Cossacks, with artillery. Our troops, which met the enemy for the first time on this occasion, fell back in perfect order under the fire of the Russian artillery, which was soon silenced by ours. Our loss amounted to only four men wounded.

This day's march had been fatiguing under a burning sun, and without any water. Both armies advanced towards the Alma on the following morning, and it was arranged that Marshal St. Arnaud should assail the Russian left at the junction of the Alma with the sea, that the remainder of the French divisions should move up the heights in their front, and the English army should attack the right and centre of the enemy's position.

To give a notion of the gallantry of our troops on this trying occasion, we must present a brief sketch of the Russian position. It

¹ United Service Journal for September, 1854, p. 51.

² United Service Magazine for August, 1854, p. 556.

crossed the great road two and a half miles from the sea, and is very strong by nature. A bold and almost precipitous range of heights, of 340 to 400 feet, bordering the river from the sea, retire at this place, and turning round a great amphitheatre, or wide valley, terminate in a salient pinnacle, where their right rested, and whence the descent to the plains was more gradual. The front was about two miles in extent.

Across the mouth of this great opening is a lower ridge at different heights, varying from 60 to 150 feet parallel to the river, and at distances from it of from 600 to 800 yards. The river is in most places fordable for troops, but its banks are extremely rugged and steep, the willows had been cut down, and everything done to render the access difficult.

In front of the position on the right bank, at about 200 yards from the Alma, is the village of Bourliouk, and near it a timber bridge, which had been greatly destroyed by the enemy. Half way down the height and across its front, was a trench of the extent of some hundred yards, to afford shelter against an advance up the even steep slope of the hill. On the right, and a little retired, was a powerful covered battery, provided with heavy guns, flanking the whole of the right of the position. Artillery was also posted at all points that best commanded the approaches generally.

On the declivities of these hills (forming a kind of table-land) were posted dense masses of the enemy's infantry, while on the heights above stood his reserve, the whole estimated at about 45,000 or 50,000 men.

The combined armies advanced on the same alignment, the British troops in contiguous double columns, with the front of two divisions, covered by light infantry, and a troop of horse artillery, the 2d division, under Lieutenant-General Sir De Lacy Evans, forming the right, and touching the 3d division of the French army, under Prince Napoleon, and the light division, under Lieutenant-General Sir George Brown, the left. The first was supported by the 3d division, under Sir Richard England, and the latter by the 1st division, under the Duke of Cambridge. The 4th division, under Lieutenant-General Sir George Cathcart, and the cavalry, under Major-General the Earl of Lucan, were kept in reserve to guard the flank and rear of the army against the enemy's numerous cavalry.

On approaching the fire of the guns, which soon became most formidable, the two leading divisions deployed into line, advancing to attack in front, supported by the reserve divisions. Almost at the same moment, the village of Bourliouk was set on fire in many places by the Russians, and, blazing fiercely for 300 yards, checked the troops in that direction. Hence two regiments of Brigadier-General Adams' brigade of Sir De Lacy Evans' division had to pass a deep and difficult ford under a sharp fire, whilst the first brigade under Major-General Pennefather crossed to the left of the conflagration, opposed by the enemy's fire from above, and advanced to the attack with the utmost steadiness.

Meanwhile the light division crossed the Alma in its front, at a spot where the banks of the river presented the most serious obstacles—the vineyards and felled trees rendering all species of formation,

under a galling fire, almost impossible. They persevered, however, and the 1st brigade, under Major-General Codrington, carried a redoubt, materially aided by Brigadier-General Buller, and four companies of the Rifle brigade under General Norcott. Still, the heavy fire of grape and musketry, and the severe losses of the 7th, 23d,¹ and 33d regiments, obliged the brigade to partially relinquish its hold. By this time, however, the Duke of Cambridge had crossed in support, with the Foot Guards, under Major-General Bentinck, driving the enemy out of all their works to the right. The Highland brigade, under Major-General Sir Colin Campbell, also advanced in admirable order up the high ground to the left; and Major-General Pennefather's brigade, which had been connected with the right of the light division, forced the enemy to entirely abandon the position they had thought impregnable.

The 95th, to the right of the Fusiliers in the advance, suffered, like that corps, an immense loss.² The Royal Artillery gave effectual aid to these operations in clearing the way for the advance. The nature of the ground only permitted the cavalry to take a few prisoners. The fleet watched the action with intense anxiety, and rendered every assistance to the wounded. The list of British casualties amounted to 26 officers, 19 sergeants, 306 rank and file killed; 73 officers, 95 sergeants, and 1427 rank and file wounded. The 23d regiment lost 8 officers, 3 sergeants, and 39 rank and file killed; and 139 rank and file wounded. The 33d had 52 rank and file killed, and 159 wounded. The 95th had 6 officers and 45 rank and file killed, and 11 officers, 12 sergeants, and 115 rank and file wounded. The Scots Fusiliers had 20 sergeants and privates killed; and 11 officers, 13 sergeants, and 136 rank and file wounded.

Passing to the French, we find that St. Arnaud directed General Bosquet, from six in the morning, to outflank the Russian right; and he attributes the victory to this manœuvre. The English did not come into line till half-past ten, but they bravely made up for the delay. At half-past twelve, the Allied army arrived on the Alma, and was received with a terrible fire of tirailleurs. The head of Bosquet's column appearing on the heights, St. Arnaud gave the signal for the general attack. The Alma was crossed at double-quick time. Prince Napoleon, at the head of his division, took possession of the large village of Alma, under the fire of the Russian batteries. They then arrived at the foot of the heights, under the enemy's batteries. At half-past four, the army was everywhere victorious. All the positions were carried at the point of the bayonet, to the cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* Even the wounded rose from the ground to join in it.³ "On the left," proceeds St. Arnaud, "the English met with large masses of the enemy, and great difficulties; but everything was surmounted. The English attacked in excellent order, and drove the Russians from their position. The bravery of Lord Raglan rivals that of

¹ The 23d was almost destroyed in this advance.

² One account states that some of our regiments in the light and second divisions, in approaching close to the terrible Russian batteries, were shattered by a storm of balls and bullets, which passed through them like a sword, levelling whole ranks.

³ It is said that when Lord Raglan rode along the ranks after the victory, he was hailed with three tremendous cheers by our troops.

antiquity. In the midst of cannon and musket-shots, he displayed a calmness which never left him." The French formed on the heights, and opened their fire. Then the Russian retreat became a flight. The Russians threw away their muskets to escape. If the Allies had had cavalry, immense results would have been obtained.¹ At six P.M., the Allies encamped on the spot of the Russian bivouac, and St. Arnaud got possession of Mentschikoff's carriage, with some valuable papers. The French had 1200 *hors de combat*. General Canrobert was struck by a splinter of a shell, and General Thomas seriously wounded.² The Russians lost 6000 men, the field of battle being covered with their dead. Lieutenant-Colonel Lagondie, French Commissioner with the British army, was unfortunately taken by the Russians while riding over to the French army.³ St. Arnaud, by a last and extreme effort of moral energy, mastered his sufferings sufficiently to remain on horseback twelve hours, though dying of a heart-complaint. But the excitement and fatigue that he underwent produced a fatal effect, and soon terminated his career. The Vulcan brought 320 British wounded, the Andes 315, and the Simoom many more, to Scutari barracks, on the 25th and 26th September. There were also numerous cases of cholera on board, occasioned or aggravated by the hardships or exposure of the campaign. The *Times*⁴ represents the medical attendance on this melancholy occasion as very insufficient,⁵ and affirms that there was even a want of lint; and there seems to have been a want of spiritual consolation, and the only ministers of whom we read as being serious and active were Catholic monks and priests.

Many sublime and affecting episodes mark the brief contest on the Alma. The colours of the 95th regiment were so riddled with shot, that the name *Derbyshire* was almost effaced. The colours of the Scots Fusilier Guards had twenty-six bullets passed through them,

¹ Few prisoners were taken, save the wounded. They included Generals Tschetschanoff and Gonikoff. The British obtained one valuable trophy, consisting of a beautiful new brass gun, of heavy calibre, the tremendous fire of which had so greatly thinned the ranks of the light division in its advance.

² When General Thomas was carried in a litter through Constantinople, all the Turks uncovered; and he was visited at his residence by the ministers of the Sultan, who sent him the order of Medjidie.

³ The account of the battle of the Alma in the text is from Lord Raglan's and Marshal St. Arnaud's official despatches in the *Times* and *Moniteur*.

⁴ Nearly 350 wounded Russians, left behind in the retreat of the Muscovite army, were collected by the officers and seamen of the Allied fleet, after the Allied armies had left the vicinity of the Alma; and Admiral Dundas sent them to Odessa with a flag of truce, requesting that they should be properly exchanged before they served again.

⁵ Not inefficient, for they were nearly worn out with their duties; but in many cases, there was only one surgeon to 120 wounded. The Colombo brought 553 British wounded and sick, and Russian prisoners, to Constantinople, who were only attended by four surgeons. The condition of the poor fellows on the passage baffles description. In many cases, the wounded passed six days without being attended to, till their arrival at Scutari. In the French service, matters appear to have been much better managed, and their wounded were nursed by an incredible number of Sisters of Charity, who had followed the French contingent, and showed them the greatest tenderness.—See the *Times*, Oct. 13, 1854.

and the staff of the colours was broken ; but Mr. Lindsay, the ensign, held it fast, and escaped without a wound.

The battle commenced with the advance of General Bosquet's division, on the French right, against the left wing of the Russians. The Zouaves and Chasseurs, having crossed the Alma, attacked an octangular tower, after scrambling up the heights ; but they were repulsed at first, for a moment, by a tremendous discharge. They returned to the assault with an overwhelming impetus, and a sergeant-major named Fleury is said to have jumped into the fort, and hoisted a tricolor handed to him by a corporal ; both fell riddled with shot. Other accounts represent Sub-Lieutenant Poitevin of the 39th as having planted its colours in the fort alone, amidst a host of Russian skirmishers, and that a moment after, he fell, pierced by a dozen balls. Inspired by such heroism, the Zouaves made a dash at the Russians with the bayonet, and drove all before them.

It is affirmed that the men of our light division, whilst scrambling over the broken ground on the banks of the Alma, consisting in part of vineyards, stopped, amidst a hailstorm of shot and shell, to pluck and eat the half-ripe grapes.

The artillery of both of the Allied armies appears to have been very efficient, and admirably served. A wheel of one of our cannon was completely destroyed by Russian shot, as the battery to which it belonged was crossing the Alma ; yet, nothing daunted, the gallant gunners set to work, with the enemy's balls dashing the water around them into foam, and in an incredibly short space of time, having fixed another wheel, they were able to march forwards almost as soon as the others. The French artillery seems to have distinguished itself greatly, especially the batteries of Commandant de la Boussonniere and of Toussaint. We are informed that nothing could be more splendid than the action of the Zouaves and Chasseurs in scaling the steep heights in their front, in the face of the Russian skirmishers. Prince Napoleon was in great danger at one moment, as a ball was seen bounding along in the direction of the group standing around him. General Thomas, who saw this, exclaimed, "*Prenez garde, Monseigneur !*" and the Prince, putting spurs to his horse, allowed it to pass, but it carried off the leg of the military intendant Leblanc, who had to undergo amputation. Sir George Brown was dismounted at the head of his division, disappearing in a cloud of dust ; but he was soon on horseback again, cheering on his men with the ardour of youth, though sixty-six years old. He has been heard to declare, that in the Peninsular war the English had encountered no position so formidable as the Alma ; and men who went through the Peninsular campaigns have said they never saw more dead in so small a space, except on the night after Talavera.

Nor was the battle without some ludicrous features. An old Russian general was found on the field with both his legs broken ; but what seemed to give him especial distress was the loss of his gold snuff-box, which was at length restored to him. Prince Mentschikoff's carriage and coachman were taken, and exhibited subsequently at Tophana. In one of his despatches, which were found in it, there was an expression to the following effect :—"Although the English are invincible by sea, they are not to be feared on land, but the

French will cause a heavy struggle. The Allied armies are not, however, to be feared, *as the fortified camp can withstand any attack for three weeks*, and certainly half as long as Sebastopol itself." Most of the fallen Russians consisted of the 16th and 32d regiments; and we regret to be obliged to add that the behaviour of their wounded was often disgracefully treacherous to their humane foes whilst assisting them after the battle. Nothing could exceed the kindness and attention of the officers and sailors of the fleet to the wounded of all parties. There was a great quantity of spoil, and much pillaging, the plunder consisting of dresses, swords, guns, rifles, and even large sums of money. We cannot conclude our narrative of this eventful battle without remarking that General Canrobert, after witnessing the gallantry of the British advance, is reported to have said, in a moment of enthusiasm, "All I ask of fortune now is, that I might command a corps of English troops for three short weeks; I could then die happy!" The French who witnessed the advance of the British at the Alma, described it as *trop majestueux*; and the Russian officers, taken prisoners, often remarked that the English were devils, and not men!

Such was the battle of the Alma, another radiant page in the glorious annals of the British army, destined to pass down, with the trophies of our sires, to our children's children, and to thrill the souls of posterity when this generation shall be numbered with its fathers. Many a gallant spirit breathed its last on that distant shore, and many a happy home-circle was filled with mourning and sadness by the losses of that gory field; but as long as history shall live, the names of the heroes who perished in the defence of justice and civilization, on the deadly batteries of the Alma, shall be honoured and classed with the brightest ornaments of antiquity and chivalry.

The Allied armies rested two days on the ground it had so nobly conquered, occupied in burying the dead, transporting the wounded to the ships, and other necessary operations, whilst the Russians, who were greatly discouraged and demoralized by the defeat, were retiring in disorder, strewing the roads with the dead, dying, and wounded, throwing away arms and knapsacks, and burning every village they left behind them.

On the morning of the 23d, the Allied armies quitted their position, and moved across the Katcha, where they halted for the night, after passing through a beautiful country, adorned with fine timber. On the following day, they passed the Belbek, which flows through a lovely valley, the country being decorated by a charming vegetation and numerous mansions. The spot at which the French crossed this stream was the village of Okurkoi; and it was found that the enemy had retired with such precipitation, that they had not even time to burn down the fine bridge at that place.¹

So complete had been the discomfiture of the Russian army on the Alma, that it offered no farther resistance to the Allies, though the banks of the Katcha and Belbek are said to present more formidable obstacles to the advance of an invading force than those of the Alma.

¹ The Allies were joined about this time by the Scots Greys (only 230 strong) and the 57th regiment, fresh from England, and without a case of sickness among them.

It appears that Lord Raglan took up his quarters for the night in an elegant Russian chateau, which had been partially sacked and a good deal injured by the advance guard. A visitor from the fleet describes the officers of his staff as enjoying very luxurious accommodation in handsome rooms, with gold panelling, and gaily passing the time in singing and playing on pianos. It was here that, after deliberating with Marshal St. Arnaud, Lord Raglan resolved to give up the communication with the Katcha, because the enemy had established a work commanding the entrance of the river, debarring its use for the disembarkation of troops, ammunition, and stores. The allied commanders were also led to change their plan of operations and give up the attempt to attack Sebastopol on the north-west side, because the Russians had sunk three line-of-battle ships and three frigates across the harbour to prevent the co-operation of the allied fleets, which would be essential in an attack on that side.

These considerations induced Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud to determine on a bold and masterly flank march across the peninsula on which Sebastopol is built, bringing the allied armies to Balaklava, a small but secure harbour on the south coast of the Crimea, to the south of Sebastopol. This movement began on the 25th of September, and the following day Balaklava was captured. On leaving the high road from the Belbek to Sebastopol, the army had to traverse a dense wood in which there was but one road that led in the direction that was necessary. The road was left in the first instance by the cavalry and artillery, and the troops were ordered to march by the compass, as well as they could; but as the wood became soon almost impenetrable, the batteries were obliged to regain the same road that they had left.

The head-quarters of the army, followed by several batteries, were the first to clear the forest, near a place called (in Major Jervis's map) Mackenzie's Farm or Khutor, and the advance, consisting of a detachment of Scotch Greys, found themselves at once on the flank and rear of a Russian division, on its march *from* Sebastopol to Backschi-serai. This body was attacked as soon as the cavalry which had diverged a little into an intricate path, could be brought up. The Russians who appear to have been taken quite by surprise, and to have been greatly discouraged after the defeat on the Alma, were dispersed almost without offering any resistance, losing fifty prisoners, and throwing away their arms and accoutrements that they might escape. A great quantity of ammunition, provisions, and valuable baggage, fell into the hands of the Allies on this occasion, but the pursuit was stopped after it had continued about one mile and a half, because it was a great object to reach the Tschernaya Raika or Black River (a stream supplying Sebastopol) that evening. The march was therefore resumed, and the army descended a difficult defile to the plain, through which runs the Tschernaya, and this was reached by the cavalry a little after dark, followed in the night by the 1st, 2d, and 3d Divisions, the 4th having been left on the heights above the Belbek till the following day, to maintain the communication with the Katcha and the fleet.

This day's march had been very fatiguing, and the troops only found two wells of indifferent water at Mackenzie's Farm or Khutor.

All things indicate that this march of the Allies took the enemy completely by surprise. As they approached Balaklava, nothing indicated that it was held in force, but the Rifle Brigade was sent on to explore. Some guns opened their fire from the old Genoese castle, and a shell exploded close to the staff and to Lord Raglan.

Seeing that some resistance was offered, the two flanking heights were occupied by the light division, and a portion of Captain Brandling's troop of horse-artillery. These active measures led speedily to the surrender of the place, which was only held by a small force of the enemy. Shortly after their occupation of Balaklava, Lord Raglan was delighted by the appearance of the *Agamemnon* steaming into the harbour, and he was soon after greeted by Sir Edmund Lyons, its gallant commander.

This co-operation had been secured by Lieutenant Maxse of the *Agamemnon*, who had arrived the previous evening (25th) at the camp on the *Tschernaya* with dispatches, and who volunteered to return alone through the woods, and a country infested by Cossacks, to request Sir Edmund Lyons to come round to Balaklava the next morning. The young officer had successfully accomplished his daring and dangerous exploit.

It appears that the march of the French on the 25th, was still more fatiguing than that of our army. Marshal St. Arnaud, who was completely exhausted by his great exertions on the 20th, was forced to resign the command to General Canrobert on the 26th, and as an attack of cholera was superadded to the aneurism of the heart, from which he had long suffered, he expired on the 29th. His mortal remains were transported to Constantinople, and thence to Marseilles by the *Bertholet*. They were accompanied by his wife, aids-de-camp, and General Yousouf, and were received with every solemnity and lodged in the cathedral. They were removed by train to Paris, which they reached early in October, and inhumed in the Invalides, with great funeral honours, at the expense of the state. Though his earlier life had been far from immaculate, the gallantry and endurance displayed by him at last, atoned for many sins and errors.

In order to enable the reader to understand the circumstances of the siege of Sebastopol, we must add a short description of its exterior defences. The principal fort on the north side of the harbour is a large octagonal battery on the height, which is described as unfinished. Nearer to the end of the promontory, and still on the height, is the Telegraph Battery of twelve guns, and probably some other field works. This portion, however, of the town is not defended by any wall or anything that could stop the energetic assault of our soldiers. The celebrated marine forts, Constantine, Alexander, and Nicholas are situated on the level of the sea, and can take no part in resisting an attack from the land side.

Reverting to our narrative, we find that on the 28th of September, the 2d, 3d, and 4th divisions of the army were ordered at once to move up to the heights above Sebastopol, where they encamped, the first division remaining at Kadikoi, behind the port of Balaklava, to protect that port, the light division occupying the heights above the harbour, which it had held before the surrender of the fort. By the request of Sir George Brown, the light division moved forward the

next day, and occupied a position in the line of the besieging army. The engineers and artillery proceeded at once to land the siege train, and on the 29th, some guns were dragged up the heights, in rear of the position held by the troops. From this elevated encampment you could see the whole harbour of Sebastopol, with the town, arsenal, ships, &c., for a circle of three or four miles. In the military harbour, the Russians had moored one three-decker, so as to direct her fire up the ravine which descends to the arsenal and docks. They were all busily engaged in throwing up works of earth to the south of the town, showing that there were no regular bastions and lines requiring to be breached. But on the east side of the town, in front of the British position, a great horse-shoe battery had been erected, which it was thought that it would be requisite to take.

The Duke of Cambridge remained with his division as a reserve till October 2d. The roads were broken up, at this time, on the side towards Mackenzie's Farm or Khutor, and the right flank of the allied army was so effectually covered by the defile leading into the valley of Tschernaya, by that stream and the marshy ground surrounding it, that Lord Raglan on the 1st of October, allowed the 1st division to advance and take part in the siege.

The valley of Inkerman to the west of Sebastopol, through which the Tschernaya flows, is a continuation of the harbour. The heights on its eastern side are crowned with Greek and Genoese ruins, and might have been fortified so as to render the place almost impregnable. An aqueduct is carried along this valley, parallel to the river, supplying the town with water, and passing for 300 yards through a tunnel. A mile to the south of this tunnel, the first division took up its position at the extreme right of the allied army. The French occupied the left of the position, commanding the deep and navigable bays, situated immediately south of Sebastopol, in the vicinity of Cape Chersonese, and affording great facilities for landing siege train, ammunition, &c. The lighthouse at Cape Chersonese was occupied about this time by a dash of our blue jackets, and the beacon which had been extinguished by the Russians was lighted again.

By examining the allied position with the help of a good map, it will be seen that the extreme right of the allies leans upon the slope of the mountains to the east of Balaklava, which run down like an immense wall to Aluchta. The gros of the right wing was posted at Kamara, the outlying posts being pushed on to the Black River or Tschernaya. The centre occupied the road leading from Kadikoi to Sebastopol, and from Backschiserai to Balaklava. The gros of the left wing was at Kavani, and the outposts at Khutor. A detachment occupied the convent of St. George on the sea coast. The artillery disembarked by the first week in October, consisted of twenty-four and forty-eight pounders, with 800 and 1000 balls each. The howitzers and mortars were provided with 500 to 700 shells each. 15,000 galions, 20,000 facines, and 18,000 piles had been used in constructing the batteries.

The besieging army with 1000 marines and 800 seamen, who were landed from the fleet, was computed to amount to 60,000 men, with 140 siege and 120 field pieces. It was understood that the Russians had 34,000 men in Sebastopol, and 30,000 men at Back-

schiserai, and they were in expectation of reinforcements. The Russians had 800 guns in the different forts, and 100 field pieces with Mentschikoff's army.¹

Thus at length, after inflicting deep and lasting injuries on all her neighbours, by undermining them with the arts of diplomacy, with the view of incorporating them by the influence of her arms, Russia was to be attacked by her intended victims, and the tide of invasion was to flow back from West to East.

Hitherto the attempts to invade the Northern Colossus had been generally unfortunate, and even disastrous. Pultawa and the Berezhina had shown the difficulty and danger of penetrating into the heart of that frozen and inhospitable zone. But Charles XII. was nothing but a chivalrous adventurer, and Napoleon I. forfeited the sympathies of the West, and alienated the *Poles* by his selfish ambition.

The case is different at present. National enthusiasm and alarm have been aroused in France and England, on the subject of Russian aggression, and every man in the West feels a personal interest in the contest. Nor is this all; for, notwithstanding the hollowness of the German Courts, the great German nations entertain a deep sympathy with the success of our arms.

The whole of Western Europe appears to be alive to the necessity of material guarantees as a security against the insidious encroachments of Russia; and as our sires committed the great mistake of suffering our principal bulwark in Poland to be overthrown, it is the evident determination of the Government and people of the Western Powers to endeavour to atone for this fatal error, by wresting material guarantees from Russia ere we conclude peace.

Sebastopol and the Crimea being the key to Russian aggression in the South, must be occupied, to secure the repose of Turkey, Persia, India, and Austria, indeed, we may add, of the world; and although the struggle has already cost us a heavy sacrifice, and the triumph must cost us more, the nations of France and England are evidently resolved to encounter almost any losses in order to obtain this desirable consummation.

It is not improbable that similar struggles will be requisite in other places to reduce the inordinate lusts of Russia, and that we must reinstate Poland and Finland to secure Germany and Sweden. These achievements will be reserved for future campaigns; and if the safety of civilized Europe should require other and greater sacrifices, we feel certain that they will be cheerfully made, and that their object will be ultimately, though perhaps slowly and painfully, attained.

¹ *Times* October 19. Letter of the Vienna Correspondent, dated October 14th.

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